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## ALBANIA

### MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 77 pp 65-77

[Article by Sotir Manushi: "Proletarian Internationalism is the Ideology and Weapon of the World Proletariat for the Victory of Socialism and Communism"]

[Text] Proletarian internationalism, as revolutionary ideology and practice, originated as an objective necessity for the union of workers of all countries under the banner of Marxism in their fight against capitalist exploitation, and for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a communist society.

Marx and Engels, having formulated the fundamental principles of the scientific ideology of the proletariat, arrived at the conclusion that the fight to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat can be crowned with success only when the workers of all countries are united and solidarized, support one another, and create a single common front against capitalism. Marx and Lenin emphasized that capital as an international force likewise had to be opposed by the world proletariat, as an international force united and illuminated by its scientific ideology. For this reason, they put forth the principle of proletarian internationalism as an integral part of the scientific ideology of the proletariat which would guide it in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

From that time to the present, the proletariat and its revolutionary parties have been guided by this principle in all class struggle and in the fight to overthrow capitalism and build socialism. This principle guides Marxist-Leninist parties and the truly socialist countries in their relations with one another. Proletarian internationalism is today not only an ideological and political principle, but also an important principle of communist morality.

Being, as ideology and practice, the expression of the common interests not only of the proletariat of all countries in the fight against international capitalism, but also the mouthpiece of the interests of oppressed peoples

in the fight against imperialism, social imperialism, and world reaction, proletarian internationalism has affected the growth of combat solidarity in all workers in the fight against oppression and exploitation.

The battles of the class struggle also confirm the Marxist-Leninist idea that the chief means of realizing the principle of proletarian internationalism is the unification of the world proletariat and Marxist-Leninist parties, as only the proletariat, led by its revolutionary party, has been, is, and will be the principal and consistent guiding force setting the tone for every event and every progressive movement in the world.

Our party, the consistent enforcer of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has, since its creation, been continually guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism. It has applied it rigorously both in the period of the War of National Liberation and the people's revolution and in the period of the construction of socialism. It has likewise fought, and is fighting, for its defense against every blow of the bourgeois, and opportunist enemies of all colors.

Proletarian internationalism is a component part of Marxism-Leninism, inextricably bound to it. Therefore, proletarian internationalism cannot exist aside from the fight for the loyal defense and application of Marxism-Leninism. Applying Marxism-Leninism correctly means evaluating and determining correctly, from the position of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on classes and class warfare, the present epoch; the contradictions and principal motive forces of the times; the principal enemies, against which the main blows must be aimed; and the allies which we must attract, and with whom we must unite; it means adhering to the doctrine of the leading role of the revolutionary party of the proletariat; it means training, mobilizing, organizing, and leading the proletariat and the other working masses in the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it means fighting to build socialism and communism; it means supporting truly Marxist-Leninist parties, and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and oppressed peoples; and so forth.

In this day and age it is impossible to conceive of support for proletarian internationalism apart from efforts to learn and apply Marxism-Leninism consistently, or apart from the fight against imperialism, social imperialism, and reaction on a national and international scale. Otherwise, it would remain without object. If one abandons these, one denies proletarian internationalism. "In this interpretation and application of Marxism-Leninism," Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "lies the gist of proletarian internationalism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 279.) Hence, the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have always been directed both against Marxist-Leninist theory in general and against the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists, seeing in the application of proletarian internationalism a colossal force bringing about the union of the

proletariat and its allies on a world scale in the fight against capital, oppression and exploitation and for the overthrow of capitalism, have tried, and are trying, to assault proletarian internationalism, as an ideology and as practice, from different directions. For this purpose they propagate nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and "limited sovereignty," seeking to sow dissension in the ranks of the proletariat and the people. Exploiting the treachery of revisionist parties and the persistence of contradictions within modern revisionism, the bourgeoisie loudly rants that internationalism is finished!," and "Marxism-Leninism is done for!" But the bourgeoisie exerts itself in vain in declaring the end of proletarian internationalism as a result of the treason of the revisionists. The banner of proletarian internationalism has been taken up and firmly grasped by the new Marxist-Leninist parties representing the future, and fighting for the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Actually, in the present stage of the sharpening fundamental contradiction of our times, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, ever greater importance has been attached to the principle of proletarian internationalism. On the other hand, the class enemies of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, revisionists, social-democrats, "leftists," and others, and the world proletariat and true revolutionary parties are clashing in a great war without precedent. The former are doing everything they can to retain capital and capitalist relationships. For this purpose, they try to cause disruption in the proletariat and among the people, and to draw them away from the fight for socialism. The latter are fighting for cohesion in the ranks of the proletariat, the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement against imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and reaction, the defense of the vital interests of the working class and the working masses, for determined support of the fight of peoples for national and social liberation, and for the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is not surprising that the modern revisionists have also joined the bourgeoisie in the fight against proletarian internationalism, either openly or covertly, in unified action or separately. Life has proven that anyone who abandons the revolutionary fight to overthrow capitalism by force and chooses to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie invariably departs from the position of proletarian internationalism, and adheres to those of chauvinism, social chauvinism, and social imperialism. The ABC's of internationalism, Lenin declared, include participation by the proletariat "in preparing, propagating, and realizing the world proletarian revolution." (V. I. Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol III, p 233.) Present-day revisionists, like all opportunists and revisionists in the past, have betrayed the interests of the proletariat, and, wherever they are in power, are oppressing and exploiting it and the other working classes. Lenin, demolishing Kautsky's so-called "internationalism" thesis which supported the bourgeois government, in defense of the "bourgeoisie fatherland," foresaw that Kautsky, by taking this road, would rank among the chief enemies of the October Revolution and



the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has also proved to be true of modern revisionists, who have become the most zealous defenders of the bourgeoisie of their own country, and of imperialism and social imperialism.

Certainly there have been, and will be, various nuances, contradictions, and disruptions among revisionists, but all revisionist groups are essentially branches of the same tree. Such nuances are noted in connection with attitudes toward proletarian internationalism.

For purely demagogic and speculative purposes, the Soviet revisionists, while propagating a wholly counter-revolutionary interpretation of, and orientation towards, proletarian internationalism, retain it as an expression, and use it now and then in their propaganda; indeed, they "criticize" those revisionists who are openly in opposition to it. But what is the meaning and content of the so-called "proletarian internationalism" of the Soviet revisionists and social imperialists? They consider subjection to the present-day policy of the Soviet Union, "being tied to its chariot" through support of its every action to be a basic criterion of proletarian internationalism. What fine "proletarian internationalism!" Of course, Marxist-Leninists also consider attitude toward the Soviet Union as one of the basic criteria of proletarian internationalism, but in a sense opposite to that claimed by the Soviet revisionists; and contrary to that claimed by the Soviet Union of Lenin's and Stalin's time, when it was a center of world revolution. Now that the Soviet Union has been changed by modern revisionism into a totally capitalist country social fascist in its domestic policy and social imperialist in its foreign policy, a person who fights against it, rather than one who supports it, is an internationalist. Fighting Soviet revisionism has become a great service of internationalism to the proletariat, and the peoples of the Soviet Union as well.

There are also many other revisionists who openly oppose proletarian internationalism, and attack it directly, considering it to be "dogmatic," or an "anachronistic" principle, and have begun to talk of a sort of "new internationalism" that is non-proletarian, about "international solidarity" in general, and so on. The partisans of "Euro-Communism," such as the Italian, French, and other revisionists, are of this type. The decision of the conference of European revisionist parties, held in Berlin, to replace the term "proletarian internationalism" with "international solidarity" is now understood.

Of course, this is not a question of a simple change in terms, but involves a revision of the whole concept, content, orientation, and purpose of proletarian internationalism, and its demands and objectives as the revolutionary ideology and formulation for practice of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, as well as the attempted replacement of proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. Whether termed "new internationalism" or "international solidarity," "...it is, in the language of the revisionists," as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh Party Congress, "a justification

that allows them to unite with the devil and his son, with the social democrats and with the Vatican, with multinational corporations and the fascists, with NATO and American imperialism; with whoever is opposed to the revolution, the proletariat, and socialism, and with whoever defends the system of capitalist exploitation." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," pp 260-261.)

As may be seen in an article entitled "The New Internationalism," published in January of this year in "Problems of Peace and Socialism," the organ of the revisionist parties, Western revisionists, allegedly in view of changed conditions, the change in the relationship of forces in the international arena, the need to solve the problems troubling the world today and other things of this sort, reduce "internationalism" (they have discarded the word "proletarian") to the collaboration of all forces, including the bourgeois, precisely in order to rescue the national and international bourgeoisie from the deep and general crisis of the world bourgeois-revisionist system. They expound union and collaboration with everyone, even the most reactionary monopolist bourgeoisie, allegedly to "solve" the problems of the "economic-financial crisis," "disproportionate economic development," "ecological problems, and so forth. So, according to this "new internationalism," one can cooperate with everyone in everything, but not to realize the proletarian revolution and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the revisionists, even while they retain the term "internationalism," divest it of its principal characteristics, which are a proletarian class content and combative partisanship, both from the viewpoint of the forces that must be united under its banner and from the perspective of the problems to be solved by that union, and means of solving them. Thus, the internationalism of the modern revisionists is subjected and corresponds, to the reactionary ideas and views about collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

According to modern revisionists, proletarian internationalism does not correspond to today's new social reality. They try to speculate with all kinds of machinations, claiming, among other things, that today it is no longer the working class alone that is fighting to solve the problems of the times, and the participation of the various classes and strata of society in problem solution has now been greatly enlarged. Actually, this is quite a trite and absurd argument, but now new. Other opportunists of every type have used it in the past. Indeed, who has ever said that the proletariat alone fights to solve the problems of the times, or that only proletarian internationalism is concerned with the solution of those problems? This is a purely revisionist invention. The question then arises as to the type of problems involved, and their solutions. All social classes and strata have been, and are, interested in, and striving to, solve the existing problems in one way or another, from the simplest problems to the most serious and acute, but always from the position of their class interests. It is a fact that as the interests of the working masses converge and coincide, their participation in solving the problems which the proletariat fights becomes broader. Precisely for this reason, it

becomes still more necessary to unite them under the leadership of the proletariat, in order to hasten the revolution, eradicate capitalism, imperialism and social imperialism, institute the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build socialism and communism.

"Proletarian internationalism," Comrade Enver Hoxha declares, "is the ideology of the proletariat; it is one of the most powerful weapons, and a condition for the victory of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is one and indivisible. There are not several internationalisms: namely, a Soviet, an Italian, a Yugoslav, or French internationalism, and so forth, as the revisionists claim." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 285.) Only those parties that openly defend the country's bourgeoisie and shift to chauvinist positions can reduce internationalism to its opposite, nationalism and social chauvinism. V. I. Lenin wrote, back in April, 1917, that "There is one, and only one, internationalism with action: work imbued with self-denial for the development of the revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and support (with propaganda, sympathy, material aid) of the revolutionary struggle and line exclusively in all countries, without exception." (V. I. Lenin, WORKS, vol 24, p 63.)

From this it is clear why proletarian internationalism has been abandoned and is being attacked by those who openly defend class collaboration, support the bourgeoisie, imperialism, and social imperialism, and deny the idea of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; by those who conform with bourgeois nationalism, convert legality, parliamentarianism, and bourgeois democracy into a fetish, and abandon the viewpoint of the class and the class struggle, as is true of modern revisionists.

For Marxist-Leninists, internationalism can only be proletarian. Internationalism in general does not and cannot exist. When the world bourgeoisie, at war with the proletariat and socialists, seeks to unite its forces and create international ties, the proletariat must unite at an even greater rate in its unequal fight against the native and international bourgeoisie, imperialism, social imperialism, and world reaction. Proletarian internationalism in this case serves not only as a condition for defense against the bourgeoisie, but also as a weapon for triumphing over it. "In the expression 'proletarian internationalism,'" Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "the word 'proletarian' alone ties internationalism indissolubly to the world proletariat, and binds it into a combat unit against the capitalist bourgeoisie, the trusts and monopolies, imperialism, and social imperialism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 278.)

So the concept of proletarianism, together with internationalism, is of theoretical and practical importance. If the word "proletarian" is not associated with internationalism, it would be accepted with satisfaction by the bourgeoisie as well, and this is precisely the purpose of the efforts of modern revisionists to sell their formally new merchandise--"international

solidarity," or so-called "new internationalism"--since this kind of union does not affect the bourgeois order. The babblings of some modern revisionists to the effect that the expression "proletarian internationalism" keeps the "broad masses of the population" removed from the fight to solve today's international problems is a total calumny, since only the bourgeoisie and its servants are afraid of proletarian internationalism. The proletariat and the working masses gain strength in union and cohesion alone, and this strength will sweep away the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The defense of the principle of proletarian internationalism against the attacks of our enemies is one of the most important duties of Marxist-Leninist parties, for proletarian internationalism forms the basis of the existence of Marxism-Leninism and the international workers' movement.

Proletarian internationalism is derived from the historic world mission of the proletariat. Marx and Lenin synthesized the principle of proletarian internationalism in the immortal slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" The aims of the proletariats' and communists' struggle were defined by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," with the words, "...their aims can only be attained by overthrowing the whole existing social order by force.... Proletarians have nothing to lose...but their shackles. They have the whole world to gain." (K. Marx and F. Engels, SELECTED WORKS, vol I, p 51, 1958 edition.)

From that time down to the present, the slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" has been a stirring call for the union of the proletariat, led by its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, in the fight to overthrow capitalism, institute the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build socialism and communism. The First and Third Internationales have worked and fought, and the October Revolution and other socialist revolutions in the world have been brought about, on the basis of this appeal. The appeal is very timely under today's conditions as well, at a time when modern revisionists, headed by the Soviets, having betrayed and combatted Marxism-Leninism and discarded the principle of proletarian internationalism, and under conditions in which the cohesion, unity, and combat collaboration of the international proletariat and its revolutionary parties must be raised to a new and higher degree. At the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that in our struggle for national liberation, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the uninterrupted continuation of the revolution, we have the aid of Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat, and progressive people throughout the world.

Thus, if we look at the entire history of the international worker and communist revolutionary movement, we see that they have been characterized by hard and resolute struggle for the victory of the principle of proletarian internationalism, for the union of the proletariat in a common front on a worldwide scale, and for the union of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the liberation movements of oppressed peoples, under the

leadership of the proletariat, headed by Marxist-Leninist communist parties. Today, also, the interests of the world proletariat, national liberation movements of peoples and all progressive individuals demand that the unity, solidarity, and combat collaboration of all revolutionary forces, under the leadership of the proletariat and true Marxist-Leninist parties, and against common enemies--the monopolistic bourgeoisie, imperialism, and social imperialism--be raised to a high level.

At the present time, the international bourgeoisie is making every effort through all types of alliances and unions, to unite its forces in the fight against the proletariat, socialism, and the people. A part of the international bourgeoisie has created NATO and various other ties; another part has created the European Common Market, and is trying to create a "United Europe;" while another part has joined forces with the Warsaw Pact, CEMA, and the so-called "socialist community." Their purpose, however, is unified--they seek jointly to suppress the proletariat, liberation movements, and socialism throughout the world. This shows how important revolutionary solidarity, true proletarian internationalism, and combat collaboration of the proletariat and its allies on an international scale are in order to wage a successful war against the international bourgeoisie, imperialism, and social imperialism, realize the revolution, institute the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build socialism.

In the fight to apply the principle of proletarian internationalism, Marxist-Leninist parties take present conditions into account and, above all, note the division of the world according to economic-social systems: that is, the division into the socialist and the capitalist systems. This division is studied and treated in close conjunction with the real conditions of the struggle of the working class. There can be no abstract treatment of this problem. But Marxist-Leninist parties have the duty, under all circumstances and conditions, to preserve the essence and revolutionary class content of proletarian internationalism. For Marxist-Leninists, this will always mean a revolutionary appeal for cohesion, union, and unity in the fight against the principal enemies of the proletariat and the people--imperialism, social imperialism, and the international bourgeoisie. Viewing the problem in this way is correct, for it is viewed in a scientific and Marxist-Leninist manner.

It is a fact that present conditions have indeed changed, and certain new phenomena have appeared, but the nature of capitalism has not changed, since private ownership of the means of production, and hence the exploitation of the proletariat and other workers by the bourgeoisie as well, remain unchanged. Therefore, in order to treat proletarian internationalism in conformity with present conditions, it is necessary to bear in mind, above all, that the essence of presentday capitalism has not changed, and there is not, and cannot be, any other way to change or transform the capitalist society into a socialist society except by revolution, applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism lies in understanding and applying Marxism-Leninism, which is the basis of struggle of the working classes to destroy the bourgeois order and achieve victory for

the new socialist order. Modern revisionists, having abandoned the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and discarded Marxism-Leninism, and hence also the principle of proletarian internationalism, unfurled the banner of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, and, together with the social democrats and other opportunistic elements, become fifth columns within the revolution, attempting to prolong the life of international capitalism.

It is also worth pointing out that every member of the world proletariat and every Marxist-Leninist party performs its internationalist duty by fighting to resolve the tasks set in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social imperialism, and reaction, and the struggle to prepare and bring about the proletarian revolution and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat, build socialism, and defend the victories won primarily on a national scale. One cannot be an internationalist without participating in the fight to perform the tasks of the revolution within the country. This is based on application of the important Marxist-Leninist principle, confirmed by revolutionary practice, that the cause of revolution and socialist construction is, above all else, an internal question for every country; that the decisive factor in realizing them lies in the internal revolutionary potential of each people; that the working class and the communists in each country perform their fundamental national and international tasks by leading the revolution to victory and successfully building socialism and communism in their own country; and that every victory of the revolution and socialism in one country supports and serves the victory of revolution in other countries as well, just as the international solidarity of the world proletariat serves the victory of revolution and socialism in many countries. "We would not be Marxists," Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "if we denied the international solidarity of the world proletariat," but it is first necessary to fight and defend oneself, and act rightly, and then engage in helping others." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1967-1968, p 37.)

In the fight to correctly resolve the tasks of the socialist revolution, proletarian internationalism combines and blends into one national and international interest, gives a new content to national sentiments and cultivates socialist patriotism. Contemptuously rejecting the calumnies of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, which claim that the principles of proletarian internationalism are diametrically opposed to those of sovereignty, Marxist-Leninists combat any withdrawal into the national shell, and try always to properly combine full independence and sovereignty with nationalism.

The loyal application of Marxism-Leninism is a decisive condition for correctly understanding and realizing the principle of proletarian internationalism in a revolutionary manner and combining the national and international tasks of the socialist revolution in a dialectic manner. Anyone who digresses from it and betrays it digresses from, and betrays, the socialist revolution on both the national and international scale. This is

what has happened with all modern revisionists, headed by the Soviets, who, betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, have also replaced the principle of proletarian internationalism with that of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, and social imperialism. Speaking to the Seventh Party Congress about the consequences of Khrushchevian revisionist treason in the Soviet Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "the former socialist base and superstructure have been completely demolished. Great Russian chauvinism has been elevated as the dominant ideology, and national oppression has become an inseparable part of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the clique in power." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 255.) Under the false slogan of international solidarity, manifested in the so-called "socialist integration" policy, Soviet revisionists are also oppressing the peoples of the so-called "socialist community." Anyone who opposes the social chauvinist and social imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists is accused of being anti-Soviet, anti-nationalist, and so forth by the revisionists. The principle of proletarian internationalism serves to strengthen not only the cohesion and unity of the world proletariat, but also the cohesion of the democratic, liberating, and anti-imperialist forces, and the unity of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat with national liberation movements against imperialism, social imperialism, the international bourgeoisie, and world reaction. In putting forth the slogan "proletarians of all countries, oppressed peoples, unite!," Lenin had in mind the union of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in the fight against imperialism. But he never considered national liberation movements as principal forces, much less principal leading forces. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have always viewed the national question as a part of the whole, part of the proletarian revolution, and, as such, subordinate to the interests of the proletarian revolution. "In comparison with the 'worker question,'" said Lenin, "it is indisputable that the national question is of secondary importance." (V. I. Lenin, WORKS, vol 20, p 500.)

At the Seventh Party Congress, it was stressed once again that our party advocates the unity of the world proletariat and all anti-imperialist and progressive forces. But it has always considered, and continues to consider, the international proletariat as the leading force of the whole world revolutionary movement. "Only the proletariat," said Lenin, "constantly swells the army with millions of fighters struggling for a better future; only it nurtures and spreads merciless struggle against backwardness, brutality, privilege, slavery, and the abasement of man by man." (V. I. Lenin, SELECTED WORKS, vol II, p 10.)

In his report to the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the present situation in the international Marxist-Leninist movement resembles the heroic periods when Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin fought and worked. Today, as then, victory over imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and reaction requires, above all, unity, solidarity, and cohesion in the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, which is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. But this unity and solidarity are achieved only by the loyal application of Marxist-Leninist theory. "Our party," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Congress,

"has marched, and will continue to march, over this road. It has not, nor will it, put anything ahead of Marxism-Leninism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 284.)

Marxist-Leninist parties are fighting under different national conditions. Some are fighting under conditions of socialism, the majority under conditions of capitalism. There are parties, such as those in the developed capitalist countries, which are anterior to proletarian revolutions, while others are anterior to democratic, liberating, anti-imperialist revolutions. But within the international workers movement there are common tasks, whose resolution requires collaboration and the exchange of experience among Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as the coordination of their actions. Of course, to accomplish this, it is necessary to establish close ties between them. Even in his time, Engels viewed the establishment of contacts and consistent ties between proletarian parties as a primary task. Life itself and revolutionary practice have confirmed the necessity of establishing and strengthening ties between Marxist-Leninist parties. Lenin frequently stressed the fact that the international alliance of workers, and their international brotherhood, was needed to triumph over the international force of capital. From this it clearly follows that collaboration and combat solidarity are powerful weapons in the struggle of Marxist-Leninist parties against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social imperialism, revisionism, and reaction.

Our party regards the expansion and strengthening of collaboration among Marxist-Leninist parties as a fundamental principle, imperative in the light of present conditions in the international revolutionary movement, and as a necessity for successfully combating the many bourgeois, revisionist, and opportunist enemies, who are also developing various forms and means of collaboration; through international contacts and meetings, for example. Such meetings are held by the heads of bourgeois governments and the leaders of social democratic, revisionist, Trotskyite, and other parties.

According to our party's view, relations between revolutionary communist parties are built and developed solely on the basis of full and equal rights, and on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Engels' words about equal rights in relations between true parties of the proletariat are appropriate, even today: "Neither the French, nor the Germans, nor the English separately, by themselves, will achieve the glorious annihilation of capitalism... the liberation of the proletariat can only be an international cause," (K. Marx and F. Engels, WORKS, vol 39, p 76, Russian edition.) Our party has never compromised with revisionist, chauvinist, and other claims to hegemony in the workers movement. It has given clear proof of this by combating embryonic appearance of such claims.

Being politically and organizationally independent, Marxist-Leninist parties unite their actions in a voluntary manner, on the basis of mutual ties. Guided by the common theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and by



unified views concerning the international tasks of the working class, they coordinate their actions, and thereby emerge as the only international force defending the interests of the revolution and world socialism. When they exchange opinions about important problems now confronting the proletariat and the peoples of the world, the Marxist-Leninist parties have no aim other than to serve the interests of the revolution, socialism, and the strengthening of unity in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The mutual aid given between Marxist-Leninist parties is not interference in their internal affairs. The bourgeoisie and revisionists, among whom "the big fish eat the little ones," constantly have interference in mind, whereas among communists guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology, there is unity, mutual aid, and combat collaboration. Marxism-Leninism and the revolution stress unity; revisionism and counter-revolution create disruption and disarray.

At its Seventh Congress, our party devoted special attention to the problem of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Indeed, the work of the Congress was characterized by a high spirit of proletarian internationalism, unity, and combat solidarity. "As internationalist communists," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Congress, "we need to exchange experience among ourselves, and considering each country's conditions, operate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 297.) Thus, our party once more emphasized that collaboration between communist parties invariably presupposes the independence of every party to act on its own initiative within its country, on the basis of the country's concrete conditions.

As the Seventh Party Congress pointed out, it is impossible to return to old organizational forms, such as those of the Komintern, which are not suitable today, since conditions and the situation have changed. Problems have become more complicated, and, as a result, it is impossible to direct all activities of Marxist-Leninist parties from a single center. Our party advocates multilateral collaboration among Marxist-Leninist parties in a truly revolutionary manner. In its view, the exchange of experience can be effected in bipartite and multipartite form. But it goes without saying that bipartite contacts alone are inadequate to strengthen unity and cohesion in the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Therefore, our party believes that multipartite contacts and broad meetings of Marxist-Leninist communist parties are superior to bipartite contacts, and serve the goals of the Marxist-Leninist movement better. They are superior because they make it possible to analyze more thoroughly the situation at any specific time, and discuss extensively the main problems posed by each new situation for the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole, or for the Marxist parties of a group of countries in the world. In addition to this, the representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties are able in extended meetings, to discuss freely, exchange opinions and views widely and sincerely, and mutually discuss and exchange experience, as well as criticize and exercise principled social criticism. Finally, extended meetings play an important

role in maintaining common positions toward various situations, and in coordinating actions in the revolutionary struggle against common enemies.

Our party has always demonstrated that the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement at a given time is not something ordained for all time. It, too, is subject to dialectical development; it is strengthened in conjunction with the principal problems to be solved by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, which change over time. For this reason, successive multipartite meetings develop and further strengthen the revolutionary parties of the proletariat. This was the purpose of the multipartite meetings develop and further strengthen the revolutionary solidarity, unity, and cohesion among revolutionary parties of the proletariat. This was the purpose of the multipartite meetings held by representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, and the declaration adopted it. Our party, and other Marxist-Leninist parties wholeheartedly saluted this multipartite meeting of the fraternal parties of Latin America, and supported the correct conclusions collectively ratified by them. Also of great importance for the strengthening of unity among Marxist-Leninists were the internationalist manifestos of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) and those of Marxist-Leninist parties of other countries as well. These manifestos forcefully demonstrated the necessity of strengthening international revolutionary solidarity, and the need for the proletariat and the peoples of the world to fight imperialism, social imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and international reaction.

This proves most clearly that communists, as true Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and as ardent internationalists, always bear in mind not only the interests of the revolution in their own countries, but also the interests of the revolution in other countries. The successes achieved in this respect require that a strengthened fight be waged to increase solidarity and collaboration between Marxist-Leninist parties.

As the Seventh Party Congress pointed out, it is only through cohesive and unified action, illuminated by triumphant Marxist-Leninist doctrine, that the proletariat of all lands, and its revolutionary parties, will overcome the difficulties encountered at the present time, and perform with honor the mission entrusted to it by history -- the overthrow of the old bourgeois-revisionist world order, and the building of a new world, the socialist world.

Our party has once more assured its comrades in arms from the tribune of the Seventh Party Congress that "the international working class, Marxist-Leninist parties, and all peoples fighting the superpowers, the bourgeoisie, and reaction, have always had, and will always have a faithful ally, secure support, and a mainstay in the Workers' Party of Albania and in the Albanian working class and people." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress," p 298.) Our party, as in the past, will fight resolutely against the common enemy for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism.

## ALBANIA

### SHORTCOMINGS IN GEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY CITED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 77 pp 11-18

[Article by Kristaq Papa: "Geology Should Take the Lead in Developing Industry and Opening New Paths for It"]

[Text] Faithfully following the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our party has always given priority to the development of heavy industry. This characteristic is retained by the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which provides for a great and rapid development of the mining, extractive, and processing industries. It is planned to increase the rate of extraction of minerals and fuels from the subsoil and their subsequent use in the service of the economy, by an average of over 54 percent, while extraction of principal minerals will undergo a still greater increase; for example, chrome, 1.5 times; coal, 2 times; iron-nickel, 3.4 times; copper, 1.5 times; and so forth. This increase will be a strong support in the achievement of the objective set by the party and the orientation given by it to the effect that our country shall rely on its own forces and resources in its economic development, so as to create a positive balance in the economy by raising exports and reducing imports. The realization of the plan in the extraction of useful minerals and fuels is also related to putting the major industrial projects now under construction, which will have our minerals as a raw material base, into operation. Therefore, knowledge, exploration, careful preparation for exploitation, and the utilization of our vast subsoil wealth with correct scientific criteria are great and very important problems for the development of our mining, extractive, and processing industries. Within this framework, "a special role," Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Seventh Party Congress, "belongs to geology. It must lead the way in the development of industry, and open up new paths."

The main task set by the Seventh Party Congress for geology workers is to discover new deposits and expand existing ones. For this purpose, the volume of drilling for petroleum and useful minerals will increase 80 percent during this five-year plan, in order that these discoveries may not only insure the planned extraction of our subsoil riches, but also improve the positive balance of our reserves. The Seventh Party Congress has

directed that, in addition to increasing the reserves of the principal minerals that we are exploiting today, for which we have created a material-technical base and gained our own experience, extending from extraction and enrichment to the processing of the minerals, great importance shall be attached to increasing the industrial reserves, to preparation for exploitation, and to finding ways to process other minerals, known or hitherto unknown, as well.

These are great tasks in the field of geology, for the performance of which the necessary means and funds have been placed at the disposal of the workers in this sector. But highly efficient exploitation of funds requires that mobilization be further strengthened on the basis of a most thorough political and ideological understanding of the tasks; that the feeling of responsibility in the geology workers for improving the quality of studies and the preparation of structures for drilling be strengthened; and that, along with a deepening of scientific thought, there shall be a growth in revolutionary vigilance for the correct and undistorted enforcement of the party's orientations, directives, and decisions.

In geology, as in every other sphere of activity and life, the party has attached, and is attaching, great importance to the ideo-political work of the basic organizations in inculcating correct Marxist-Leninist concepts; in treating and solving problems always from the viewpoint of policy, from class positions; in increasing faith in our forces and possibilities, and relying strongly upon them; in understanding the situation and the real state of affairs correctly; and in coping successfully with them by mobilizing and fighting as if encircled.

Mobilized to perform the tasks set by the party, the geology workers, under the guidance of the party organizations, have increased their revolutionary vigilance and are carrying on the fight against manifestations of technocratism and bureaucratism, and against every remnant of distortion and erroneous method associated with the hostile work of Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, Kico Ngjele, and their followers, and are executing more correctly the party's directives and decisions in the field of geology.

The discovery of new petroleum deposits and the expansion of the existing ones is one of the main tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress to constantly increase reserves and achieve extraction plans. Correctly evaluating the great responsibility for performing this task, the basic party organizations in the petroleum sector are working primarily to gain a thorough ideological and political understanding of it, and mobilize all workers for the job of preparing, drilling, and discovering petroleum-bearing structures. Fighting antiquated concepts and practices, wherein the points of exploratory drilling were projected on the basis of preconceived opinions, without integrated operations, they now endeavor to orient exploration as correctly as possible, by preparing the structures through geological-geophysical operations. On the basis of broad discussion, they have projected

exploratory wells primarily near known deposits. The drilling and mastery of the wells for the expansion of existing deposits has shown that there are reserves of petroleum and gas there, and they are being exploited.

A great job has been done with the workers of the petroleum geology service in introducing the geological-geophysical complex into studies for projecting bore wells, to the extent that no well has been drilled without this complex in the years 1976 and 1977. This has brought about a correct ratio between producing wells and those which do not hit petroleum or gas strata. But, apart from this, there are still narrow and superficial conceptions of the task. Thus, there are a good many cases where various operations undertaken in the areas where drilling is projected are not considered, even when they oppose the projection, when it is known that giving priority to certain methods only and underestimating certain others is the same as working without the necessary set of operations and geological studies, which results in poor preparation of the data for projecting exploratory wells and in incomplete explanation of the processes, phenomena and causes. The activation of all the specialists and other workers in study work, scientific analysis of all the data, whether positive or negative, and the organization of debates and discussion of the pros and cons, without allowing any case of concealment of shortcomings and weaknesses: these are some of the main tasks of the basic party organizations.

Practice shows that to obtain the best results it is necessary to submit opposing opinions for discussion and consultation at all levels, until they are completely clarified, and other supplementary operations and studies must also be made for this purpose. Cases of superficial work and failure to take all the data into account have been noted, especially in the petroleum seismogravimetric enterprise, where one method has been underestimated while another was overestimated. Although the collective of that enterprise, in order to perform the task set for covering regions with seismic and gravimetric operations, increased the volume of operations by working with shifts during an entire year, it paid no attention to the quality of operations. The good results obtained at the beginning of last year by some seismic teams created a state of euphoria and self-complacency, the mistaken and demobilizing opinion that the difficulties in the quality of operations and the interpretation of data are over. This diminished the concern of the workers about taking their work seriously and threw into reverse the process of continual control over every operation, whereby one should not wait for the completion of the drilling to a well to deduce errors.

Watching the quality of operations step by step, the precision of measurements, and studies and generalizations in geology, are urgent problems upon which the attention of the basic party organizations and the state and economic organs must be concentrated more than in the past, to combat, among other things, the erroneous notion entertained by some specialists and cadres that the geology workers are divided into "chiefs," upon whom quality depends, and "commons," who perform the "unimportant" operations. As life also shows, every worker, technician, or engineer does a specific job which

has its own importance, and every error by an individual is reflected in the work of all others connected with it. This is the reason why the problem of quality of operations, as the party enjoins, must be viewed by us in every phase of operations and in every work process; there must be not only collective, but also personal, responsibility. By following this course, we will do a better job of combatting practices and methods borrowed from foreign literature and applied without being adapted to the conditions of the country or the regions studied.

In the geological service for solid materials, as a result of the work done to strengthen the profound conviction of the workers regarding the necessity of using all types of studies, of linking the data obtained from them and the [observed] phenomena, and of "treating" geological problems on a mass basis, good results have been obtained in discovering new reserves; notably, in improving the ratio between drillings for exploration and those for discovery, thus opening up a broad front for mineral prospecting. These successes have been achieved as the result of a persistent fight waged by basic party organizations against concepts that impede the active involvement of the thoughts and activity of the masses in geologic exploration, under the pretext that geology problems are difficult technical matters, and thus only qualified specialists need concern themselves with them, or that geologic research is secret, and therefore none but a limited circle of persons can concern themselves with it, and so forth. Workers and popular prospectors for useful minerals are now giving their opinions; the projectors have begun to give accountings to the drilling brigades; and so forth. However, there are still a good many manifestations of formalism. The materials submitted for discussion are presented in a lengthy manner, with ponderous phraseology often unintelligible to the workers. This has caused some workers to take an indifferent attitude toward geological problems, while some cadres continue to hold a low opinion of the role of the masses in geologic research.

To put a stop to these erroneous attitudes, it is necessary for us to thoroughly study the materials of the Seventh Party Congress, and correctly apply the injunction of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "...geologists should boldly scan the mountains and plains palm by palm and arm in arm with popular prospectors...." The contribution of popular prospectors to the discovery of useful mineral deposits is a great one. Thanks to the party's constant care, both the number and quality of popular prospectors for useful minerals are increasing daily, and their work in gathering indications and samples of mineral deposits is now becoming more coordinated with the work of geologists. Nevertheless, shortcomings are still noted in the encouragement of popular prospectors in some districts, especially where there are no geologic enterprise. Some geologic expeditions are slow in verifying the indications given by popular prospectors, and make little effort to increase the scientific knowledge of those prospectors, and so forth.

The positive experience in the work of some party organizations shows that achievement of the objectives set by the party requires both the combatting

of every erroneous concept about geology problems and the formation and inculcation of correct concepts that will insure the enforcement of the party's orientations, and yield the desired results in relation to our conditions. For this purpose, basic party organizations are doing a better job of guideline not only educational, but also scientific research, work. The petroleum-extracting enterprises in Patos and Marinez, the chrome-mining enterprises, the coal mines in Krrabe, and so forth, have obtained good results in constantly increasing industrial reserves due to the fact that the communists in these enterprises, creating a sound conviction about the role of scientific research, have become not only supporters and encouragers of the fight against routine and narrow practicality, but also organizers of studies and enforcers of concrete measures to break through the "green lines" formerly drawn around existing deposits. They have likewise combatted other obstructive opinions, such as those about "lenses and spots," "big tectonic breaks," and so forth, which treat questions in a metaphysical manner, considering phenomena as separate, and unconditioned by other phenomena. As a result, the "lenses and spots" have been gradually enlarged, and two to three times more petroleum and gas, chrome, copper, and so forth are being extracted from them. We now have a clearer perspective about other minerals also.

However, it is necessary to continue the fight against erroneous concepts without interruption, since they have not been created suddenly and their exponents number more than just a geologist here or there. The unsuitable methods and unrealistic ideas about the geologic structure of our country which we have inherited from foreign specialists have been taken from the literature of other countries and used in a stereotyped manner as a consequence of the hostile work of Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, and others, and have been introduced en masse and worked with for years on end. Hence, their eradication, and the creation of sound convictions and correct concepts in the minds of all specialists and other geology workers, require persistent and continuous work by party organizations and the state and economic organs. Besides recognizing and combatting distorted concepts, it is necessary to undertake studies, make experiments, and generalize from positive experience, so as to acquire a good scientific knowledge of our country's geological structure and introduce modern methods of research on this basis.

Collaboration between geologists, the enterprises, and other institutions plays an important role in improving the efficiency of geologic research operations. The territorial division of the country under which the geologic enterprises were set up does not correspond to divisions according to geologic structure, since the geologic belts overlap districts. This, and the experience gained in work by various teams, make it necessary to exchange opinions and data, and undertake joint studies by two or more geologic enterprises. We stress this matter because at present technical-scientific collaboration between geologists is not at the required level, and also because the Institute of Geologic and Mining Research in Tirana is not responding properly to this important demand by concrete action. Its program

confines the workers to current problems identical to those of the geologic enterprises, rather than initiating studies which would undertake the opening of new prospects for geological research, and the information and study of generalizations based on the natural laws governing the discovery of minerals, and so on.

Furthering the qualifications of geology workers is one of the important prerequisites for performing the tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress. The number of engineers, medium-grade technicians, and qualified geology workers has grown continually. This is illustrated by the fact that petroleum, chrome, copper, coal, and other deposits have been discovered even in areas which had been regarded as offering no prospects on the basis of former studies made by foreign specialists. In general, the efficiency of geological research operations has been increased, and the amount discovered per meter of drilling has been increased. In this field, too, there are party organizations that distinguish themselves by their careful work, and they have accumulated good experience. Thus, thanks to the careful work done to increase the qualifications of workers in the geological enterprise of the Korce District, they have succeeded in continually increasing the efficiency of exploratory operations for copper and other minerals. In this enterprise, 93 percent of the operations yield positive results.

But in spite of the work done to increase qualifications of geology workers, shortcomings and weaknesses are still noted. This problem becomes more urgent if we take into account the fact that the performance of the great tasks set by the party in the field of geology requires that the scientific level of work be raised in all its aspects and processes. It is a fact that at present the qualifications of a good many employees in this sector, starting with the workers and technicians and extending to the engineers, do not coincide with the tasks set for geology. Both in petroleum and solid minerals exploration, the qualifications of the chief explorers are one to two degrees lower than the category of the place of work, while the number of medium-grade drilling technicians working on probes is small. Some party organizations have not viewed the problem of the qualifications of workers, technicians, and engineers in all its breadth, but only superficially, without analyzing the contradictions arising between the extent of advanced technology and the degree of qualification of the workers. Hence, a lack of qualified workers for some vocations occurs, while the qualifications of medium-grade technicians are left to chance; there are no special organized forms for ensuring and improving their qualifications.

The Seventh Party Congress has stressed that the increase in the volume of operations, and their qualitative improvement during this five-year plan, require that special importance be attached to raising the technical-vocational aptitude of the workers. This is necessary for the additional reason that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "Geology is a science with a rigid discipline, demanding controllable precision in every operation and at every moment." This conclusion is drawn from a dialectic analysis of the facts.



Therefore, concepts whose intent have been the creation of enemies and saboteurs who, in order to cover up their sabotaging activity, have spread among some technicians and geologists the notion that "geology is a hypothetical science having no universal laws, but certain theses that stand today and fall tomorrow" must be combatted and rooted out. Such a conception, among other things, leads to a weakening of the effort to increase the scientific knowledge of workers and, as a consequence, to neglect the scientific discipline of geological research work. Practice has confirmed that the science of geology and its laws and methods can be fully applied only when the workers engaged in these sectors master the necessary knowledge, and when we strive systematically to raise the technical-vocational level not only of the workers and medium-grade technicians, but, invariably, that of the engineers and directing cadres as well.

Geological engineers have made important contributions to the discovery of useful minerals. They have taken upon themselves the direction of exploratory operations, and are performing them with honor, increasing the reserves and number of minerals from year to year. But along with the success there are also shortcomings, particularly in the quality of the studies and geologic generalizations; the number of probes yielding negative results is still large, the efficiency of extraction operations for the same kind of mineral varies in different enterprises, and so on. This is partially due to the fact that geologists make little effort to raise their professional aptitude, and to use new methods, as well as mathematics and the other exact sciences. This is why the party admonishes us that every geologist must strive greatly to achieve and generalize advanced experience, study the literature for scientific data, and conduct individual experiments. In this manner, new methods will find wide dissemination, and geologists will bear greater responsibility for solving problems without being dismayed or flinching from the difficulties.

Fear to perform a task has its basis in bourgeois ideology, and it obliges people to do things "just for inside use," so that in every study they may offer solutions that afford opportunities for "maneuvering" in order to evade responsibility; and so forth. There have, in some cases, been excessive meetings and consultations in the petroleum sector. For example, during the process of mastering the drilling of a well, there have been cases where 10-12 meetings have been held because the engineer-technician personnel associated with the well and the enterprises took no responsibility for solving problems. Similarly, during the projection of drilling sites, the geologists frequently demand that the geophysical studies of the structures and their positions be given in decoded form, so they alone would decide where to drill, instead of coordinating studies collectively, comparing them, and arriving at correct conclusions.

The fight against fear and shirking on the part of geologists must be waged concretely, according to the causes and the situation for each collective and individual, which, because they differ, also require different treatment. Thus, in the case of some geologists, the cause of fear is a low

technical-professional level; others are afflicted by the petty bourgeois concept of self-preservation; there are also cases in which the cause of fear results from poorly studied measures taken toward some specialists. The extremist tendencies of some elements professing to be "vigilant" leave no one unstruck, regardless of the fact that, in many cases, errors have not been committed wittingly. Every extremist action has harmful consequences that are not only economic, but also ideological and political, in nature, since it causes creative and scientific thought to wither, and drives people into passivity.

It is for these reasons that the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha enjoin us to show great care in treating problems, and in our relations with workers. The creation of a warm atmosphere imbued with revolutionary spirit, the treatment of problems with a high degree of partisanship, and the creation of confidence toward our cadres and specialists on the basis of the Leninist principle of "trust and control" are very important elements in raising ever higher the spirit of optimism and revolutionary ardor among our workers in performing the great tasks in the field of geology.

The need to raise technical-professional levels is also connected with the strengthening of technical and scientific discipline. Great progress has been made in this field, but much still remains to be done, especially in overcoming the difficulties of growth, in combatting intellectualistic and technocratic concepts and attitudes, and in overcoming the relative backwardness of some specialists. There have been improvements in the quality of operations and the introduction of new methods in the geophysical enterprise in Tirana, but manifestations of the spirit of complacency, with little and inadequate attention to the interpretation and generalization of data, are still noted; the results of work are not measured by comparison of geophysical material with drilling data, so that geophysical operations do not properly serve geology in order to open prospects for exploration, and increase its efficiency.

Increased efficiency in the use of machinery and equipment also depends upon the enforcement of technical discipline. Many examples show that high technical-economic indicators have been obtained from the full exploitation of machinery capacity, based on technical and technological regulations. For example, drilling and operating brigade BU 19 drilled 2,300 linear meters in 1 month; exploration brigade KO 5 drills without a breakdown; the chrome-prospecting brigade in Bulqize has attained a monthly probing speed of 400 linear meters; and so on. The opposite has occurred in those brigades and sectors where technical and technological discipline is violated, chiefly because little is done to increase the workers' vocational knowledge. For example, drilling brigades ST 76, BA 27, VU 11 in the Ragam, and the Golaj expedition violate technical safety and work regulations; consequently, there are breakdowns that waste 10 percent of calendar time; and so forth. The fight to eliminate breakdowns and other unjustified and unnecessary stoppages requires that party organizations in the geological enterprises

devote great care to the training of workers, technicians, and engineers. In this respect, still greater care must be taken by the various vocational schools which train cadres for this field, particularly the University and the Academy of Sciences, in training the various types of specialists in geology.

Geology workers everywhere, inspired by the ideas of the Seventh Party Congress, are striving with lofty revolutionary spirit to perform the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan by searching out for the fatherland new deposits of petroleum and gas, chrome, copper, coal, iron, and so forth, and increasing the yield of useful minerals contained in our subsoil.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### HANES DESCRIBES SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 May 77 p 3

[Article by Dalibor Hanes, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly: "Socialist Democracy in Action"]

[Text] The socialist system is based on a high degree of democracy not achieved in history so far and its entire development is closely connected with continuous democratization of all aspects of the society's life. We carry out the fundamental political, economic, social and cultural transformations which demonstrate the indisputable superiority of socialist conditions in a democratic way through the activity of the working class and its allies. This democratic process decidedly inaugurated after the February victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie in our country is systematically and prospectively developed by the Communist Party, by the socialist state and mass organizations with a creative participation of the steadily increasing number of our citizens, in their interest and to their benefit. It is enough to show this democracy in action even during last year and part of this year alone in order to make clear the extensive scope and prospects of democratism in our country. Last year -- under the impact of the 15th CPCZ Congress and elections to the representative bodies at all levels of the socialist state -- provided the widest forum for millions of our citizens from all strata of the society to express their will, views, work, social initiatives, intentions, suggestions and critical comment. And this year -- the year of congresses of almost all principal organizations of the National Front which are preceded by the deliberations at all local, okres and kraj levels -- offers innumerable opportunities to additional groups of citizens to participate in this great activity of the entire society.

The social base of the socialist state (in contrast to the precisely opposite tendency typical of the bourgeois states) constantly expands by winning over the support of the masses of the people for revolutionary transformations, for building the most just social organization in the most genuine interest of each citizen. For this reason, every honest supporter of socialism must be filled with contempt and just anger when some presidents, ministers and various reactionary scribblers give us

lessons in democracy, although their bourgeois democracy and civil rights are essentially based on the unlimited right (we very much thank you for such a "right") of the bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress both in its own country and beyond its borders. Their bourgeois democracy as a system of government of a very narrow stratum of exploiters over the absolute majority of the people will not become more humane because they slander our, indeed all peoples', socialist democracy. Nobody can divert us from the road on which we embarked after the victory of the working class in February 1948. It is the road of the government of the people and in its most genuine interest.

To constantly augment the profound democratism of our socialist political system and to draw upon the great political capital represented by the collective experience of the Soviet Union and of all other socialist countries -- that is one of the main tasks which were incorporated in the political line laid down by the 15th CPCZ Congress as the objective prerequisite for further development of socialism both on the national and international scale.

Although socialist democracy is not some scheme superimposed on life, but life itself, with all its manifestations, conditions and relations, and also the very social practice in which we create our socialist present the communist future and the further development of socialist democracy does not proceed spontaneously, automatically, but must be directed and stimulated. In the course of this process it is necessary to constantly discover, to test, to verify, to improve and to shape.

#### Party Opens the Sources of Objective Knowledge

The projects of the developed socialist society approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress presume that the tasks of the political, economic, cultural and ideologically educational nature will create all decisive conditions for the general development of democratism and, vice versa, that further development of democracy will be adequate to all these principal tasks. Here -- in the comprehensive solution of political, economic, social, cultural and ideologically educational questions -- is the key to the higher level of development of the socialist society and thus also to the higher developmental level of socialist democracy. The role of the political general staff and of the brain of the socialist society -- the Marxist-Leninist party -- logically increases accordingly. At the same time the subjective factor, people's activity and initiative, becomes increasingly important.

Further development of socialist democracy thus presupposes making constantly more room to this activity and initiative. Further development of socialist democracy means opening of both existing and new sources of such development. What are these sources? In the first place, it is the profound knowledge of social processes, the broad dialectical

view of the processes of domestic and international development; it is the ability of wisely taking into consideration, of applying and developing the Marxist-Leninist theoretical source in coping with the new tasks of advanced socialist construction; it is the systematic and comprehensive approach to the social phenomena which affect the pace and scope of socialist construction (the pace and scope of development of socialist democracy), which, reciprocally, affects these phenomena at the same time. It is only and exclusively the party of the working class which is capable of such scientific knowledge and of the revolutionary practice based on it, that is the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party which is instrumental in combining revolutionary science with the revolutionary class and all revolutionary masses and in translating all ideology into the reality. Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical source of its activity and as the ideology which by its class substance is the ideology of the working class; the strategic program of the party; the means and methods of the revolutionary struggle which the working class under the guidance of the party chooses for accomplishing its objectives; the entire class and social substance and structure of the party organism; all collective effort of the party leadership -- all this is oriented to the unceasing development of the socialist reality, to further development of socialist democracy which constitutes the "living soul" of the entire system of the people's rule. The party of the working class and increasingly also the party of all people -- but not deprived of its fundamental class mission -- is together with the most revolutionary class of the society, the class of workers, the first, principal and most vital source of further development of socialist democracy.

As a revolutionary, democratically centralized organization combining the conscious activity of communists with their centralized unity and coherence, the party of communists, the party of the working class systematically exercises its influence to positively affect the relations between the classes and social groups; between the nations and ethnic minorities and between the society, collective and individuals. The party subordinates all social development to the interests of all working people. The party promotes the efficiency of the political system of socialism in order to make it fully reflect these interests and to concentrate, with a constantly wider participation of the working people, on the common tasks, interests and goals. The party constantly sees to it that all, even the most detailed solutions of everyday problems in the communities, in the workplaces and in the interhuman relations always benefit both the society's and the personal interests and the development of democratism and of socialism both on the national and international scale.

#### Ever Wider Possibilities of Initiative

This is another of the sources of development of socialist democracy -- the existing and constantly expanding social base of this democracy.

Socialism necessarily -- and therefore deliberately -- creates increasingly more complete and more ample political, economic, social, cultural and ideological prerequisites for the continuous improvement and development of democratism. An increasingly larger number of better qualified people is preoccupied with their participation in the exercise of power, in management and in democratic administration. A steadily increasing room opens to their initiative and activity in work for the society and thus, also, for themselves in public life, in state organs and in mass organizations -- trade unions, youth, physical education, cooperative, defense and many other special interest organizations or associations of creative artists.

Institutions of direct democracy also can more boldly be further developed -- production conferences in industrial and agricultural plants; public meetings of citizens in towns and villages and meetings of plant and enterprise managers with the work collectives and other appropriate forms of workers' participation in the solution of local and statewide problems. There still is large room for human ingenuity, abilities, talents, skills and self-sacrifice of the working people. There is much room here for talents and for man's inner need to make oneself useful [for oneself and] to be useful to others. This is the potential force which is inherent in the people because the best individuals come from it. There must be conditions under which the people generates the force of steadily increasing intellect and everything noble that is inherent in it.

Only socialism creates such conditions. By liberating labor from exploitation, it has provided immense space for a free development of the personality in which the working man can demonstrate, and thus demonstrates, his activity and initiative. This is one aspect (an indispensable prerequisite) of democratism: all political, economic, social, cultural and ideological conditions give a "green light" to the development of socialist democracy and provide increasingly more room for democratism among other things also, because the democratization of all aspects of social life (politics, economy, culture, administrative sphere and so on) is one of the most important conditions for further development of socialism. This, however, is only one aspect -- room for the widest (therefore the most democratic) activity and initiative. Making the biggest possible, the fullest possible use of this room: participation (active and initiative) -- in production, in the formulation of policies, in the administration and management of the society, yes also in the defense of socialist achievements and [developing] interest in this participation as the manifestation of firm conviction and profound consciousness of the constantly larger number of the working people -- that is the second, indispensable aspect of democratism.

The shrinking social base of the bourgeois state is the general tendency particularly apparent at the present time, when, contrary to the interests and needs of an absolute majority of the society, an increasingly smaller group of monopoly big shots subordinates all state policy to the class interests of the bourgeoisie. The social base of the socialist state on the other hand shows precisely the opposite tendency -- it constantly expands. This trend is stimulated by the political, economic and cultural development of the society and also by socialist democracy. Conversely, socialist democracy is further developed by this expanding social base.

[This means] the gradual expansion of the social base of the socialist state and of socialist democracy, that is, the permanent, unceasing effort by which the masses of people are gradually won over for the social transformations, for a higher living standard and thus also for a higher level of democratism -- an effort to gain confidence of the masses in their Communist Party, in the socialist state serving their most genuine interests, in its domestic and foreign policy exclusively motivated by the people's interests and needs both in the national and international sphere.

For this reason, the Communist Party pays so much attention to profoundly scientific economic, social, cultural and all other policies whose practical achievements constantly strengthen people's confidence in the party, in the socialist society and state. For this reason, the Communist Party sees to it that an increasingly larger number of our citizens actively participates in the formulation and implementation of this policy, that an increasingly larger room is provided for further development of socialist democracy and that conditions are created for overall development of personality. The general and continuous extension of the people's rule in all its manifestations -- that is the road of progress conforming to the most genuine interests of our people.

#### Just Conditions for Absolute Majority

Socialism has created just social conditions for an absolute majority of people. It has created determining material conditions for the democratic nature of the society's political organization, because it established social ownership of the means of production and eliminated the possibility of exploitation of man by man. It thus removed the principal impediment to the liberation of labor and to the freedom of personality in general. It thus released the inexhaustible power of human abilities and of the human intellect, and removed the main impediments to one of man's most urgent needs -- the need to be an effective, active participant in the social transformations; to be an author and cooriginator of one's own fate by one's own contribution to the revolutionary transformations of his country. Here lies also the steadily increasing importance of further development of socialist democracy closely linked with people's life and needs. Democracy -- and we shall continue to further develop



it all the time -- is for us everything that is beneficial to the interests and needs of our working people and corresponds to the interests of advanced building of socialism. To the interest of the society and of the individual is the systematic attention not only to the continuous extension of our citizens' rights, but also -- and further development of democracy is unthinkable without it -- to the gradual increase in their social responsibility, to their steadily increasing share in the solution of society-wide and local problems and tasks. This responsibility to the society concerns, in the first place, the active share of every working man in the constant development of the very essence of human existence, the essence of true democratism and of real freedom -- in the development of the economy.

The well-known idea that true democracy is not possible without socialism and socialism is not possible without a systematic development of democracy, applies naturally also to the economic sphere. What kind of democracy would it be, if it would not permeate the environment in which man spends the most active years of his life, and in which he works and creates every day? Of fundamental importance therefore is the augmentation and consolidation of democratic principles directly in production, in production relations. For these reasons also the entire economic policy of our Communist Party is closely related to the systematic development of socialist democracy and takes it for granted. The incorporation of additional democratic elements in management and economic planning, in the production process itself and in the relations between producers by no means constitutes arbitrariness, anarchy, relaxation of discipline and benevolence. On the contrary, a consistently applied rule of the people in the economic sphere like in all other social spheres is the rule of free producers and creators for free people, in their interest and for their benefit. For these reasons, such a rule of the people is most genuinely interested in the best possible results and constantly mobilizes the inexhaustible forces and reserves hidden in the socialist system -- initiative and creative activity of the working people demonstrating the advantages of socialism, a system benefiting the absolute majority of the people and therefore supported by it. Work heroism, activity and initiative are an integral part of the arsenal of socialism and its democratic achievements.

Socialist competition is the most effective democratic manifestation. It is typical that the development of socialist democracy increases the mass nature of this competition and its effect on the implementation of economic tasks, on the implementation of tasks in science, research, development, construction and design, health care, transportation, building, commercial network and other areas of social life. Although socialist competition has already become a "habit" in production where the direct participation of workers is reflected in the elaboration of pledges and in their implementation and mutual assistance, this patriotic

movement begins to spread to all other spheres of our socialist society. Moreover (and this is by no means less important,) industry, work discipline and political activity are closely interlinked, and this is reflected both in the very approach to work and increased responsibility for the results of the entire work collective, shop, department, plant -- in the increased responsibility for a common cause.

Further development of socialist democracy is objectively called forth also by the advancing scientific and technological revolution -- these two processes being interdependent. Under the conditions of constantly developing socialism (which develops precisely on the basis of a more effective application of scientific and technological knowledge,) further development of democratism depends upon the growth of creative activity of people. The mutual connection between the development of socialist democracy and scientific and technological progress is brought about by the unequivocal orientation to further development of the socialist society. As the report submitted to the 15th CPCZ Congress stated, "A developed socialist society, whose building is the salient feature of the present stage, is characterized particularly by the application of the results of scientific and technological revolution to the new social" (in fact democratic) relations, and by the comprehensive solution of political, socio-economic, cultural and ideologically educational problems." Naturally, the significance of the subjective factor, namely of people's activity and consciousness tremendously increases in the course of this process. The entire development of socialist democracy in which every citizen is involved, both as the subject and object, ultimately leads to man -- through the augmentation of national wealth, improvement of work and living conditions, health care, education and culture to the overall development of the socialist way of life and to the formation and development of every individual.

#### We Promote Full Development of Personality

Although much is still to be done in this respect and many difficulties are in store for us, our socialist society has successfully coped with one of the momentous problems of democracy -- the problem of personality. In dealing with this problem, socialism naturally proceeds from labor as the real basis of human existence and the necessary, indispensable prerequisite from which freedom and free production grow. The attitude toward labor is therefore regarded as the most active and the most conscious manifestation of socialist morality. Labor liberated from exploitation increasingly becomes, in developed socialism, an inner need of our people. This, of course, is not the only dimension in which the personality develops under socialism. While we regard the rational satisfaction of material needs as the natural manifestation of socialist humanism (and we have already done a great deal in this respect) because this is the necessary prerequisite of a full-value human existence, we do not see

in this man's material need the only purpose and goal of socialism and its democratism. As we successfully bring into harmony the social and personal interests and needs, we succeed in developing in the working people increasingly firmer awareness of affinity to the collective and to the society with which they pursue common goals. The need of a collective, the need of other people motivated by the same interests and social effort aimed at building a developed socialist society, the need of continued education, the need of the inner unity of personality, the need of contact with beauty and nature, the need of love and profound feeling, the need of prospects and securities as well as the need which in a way is central -- the need to develop, that is the need of human activity -- all these are assets by which socialism has contributed to the solution of one of the most important problems of democracy -- the problem of personality. It has thus tremendously enriched and further develops the awareness of social significance of personal life.

When we speak of ways in which social democracy is to further develop, we have always in mind also the maintaining of harmony between the principal interests of the personality and of the society. After all, the essence of the dialectics in the relations between the individuals and the society lies on the one hand in the gradual perfection of the socialist society and in the gradual increase of its material and intellectual values which enable and promote the development of the individual, and on the other hand in the fact that this development of abilities of the individual contributes to further perfection of the socialist society. Workers gradually grow into socialist personalities with a rich individuality, but freed from individualism as they become active, conscious, creative subjects of their social life process and as they -- by constantly improving their knowledge of and practically applying the scientific world view, contemporary scientific achievements, cultural and civilization values -- achieve self-realization in the production of material and intellectual values, in the management of the society and of the state and in the revolutionary transformation of the world. Such is the dialectics of development of socialist democracy. In accordance with this dialectics, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia works in our entire political system. Underlying the economic, social, cultural, ideologically educational and politically moral results which we have achieved in the process of developing socialist democracy so far, is the increasing consciousness of our citizens, their identification with the policy of the Communist Party, the policy which they regard as their own. This is socialist democracy in action.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WRITERS AND CPCZ DISCUSSED

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 22, 1 Jun 77 pp 8, 9

[Article by Jaroslav Beranek]

[Text] The same socialist social order which, under the leadership of the communist party, liberated the working people from the forces of exploitation also created the essential preconditions for writers which made it possible for their work to become a free expression of their creativity. Writers were released from their demeaning dependence on the business interests of capitalist publishers and thus liberated both spiritually and economically. They are no longer held in bondage by commercial interests as are the writers of the capitalist world, where literature is spoken of more as if it were some kind of industrial branch. In that part of the world the dependence of writers on the prosperity of publishing houses, film companies, and radio and television corporations transforms their work in most cases into a mere commodity which is subject to the laws of supply and demand and the race for profits. What is most important is not artistic and intellectual value, but rather the marketability of literature and its authors. Most writers reconcile themselves to putting up with this situation, especially in view of the fact that the tax system officially categorizes them as private businessmen, even though they are in fact hired workers unprotected by social rights and benefits.

In contrast to this situation, the cultural policies of the communist party and the socialist state protect writers and relieve them of all anxiety connected with meeting their basic material needs by means of benefits that run the gamut from stipends to a place to live in writers' homes where they are assured of peace and quiet and an opportunity to concentrate on their work. It is primarily owing to our party's cultural policies, which are so much maligned in the West, that our writers are also able to have published the books which they invest so much time and effort in writing. This is a no less important benefit, since unpublished literature is the same thing as unwritten literature as far as the general public is concerned. And so in this sense too writers are able to enjoy a sense of security. The only conditions which socialist society has imposed on the creative work of writers are the result of the hard-won political struggles of the communist party, struggles which culminated in the establishment of working class rule. It

can be said without any risk of exaggeration that never before in the history of Czech and Slovak literature have writers enjoyed such favorable opportunities which make it possible for them to refine their work to the point of artistic perfection.

In his report to the 15th Congress of the CPCZ Comrade Gustav Husak was also addressing writers when he stated that "the party respects artists who understand the social mission of their work and who employ their creativity in a dedicated manner on behalf of the education of socialist man." Writers do play and always have played an important role in the ideological work of the party. Whoever disputes the connection between the creative work of writers and ideology also denies the social nature of literature and its status as a constituent element in all human thought, as a factor which influences all human action and behavior. For this reason as well, our communist party, from its very inception, has maintained a constant interest in writers. By virtue of the attractiveness of its policies and ideals the party succeeded in gaining the support of some of our most accomplished artists. This category of supporters also included such literary personalities as Jiri Wolker, Vitezslav Nezval, S. K. Neumann, Vladislav Vancura, Marie Majerova, Petr Jilemnicky, Marie Pujmanova, Zdenek Nejedly, Julius Fucik, Laco Novomesky, Bedrick Vaclavek, Ivan Olbracht, Frano Kral, and a host of others. The great majority of the authors of our greatest literary works stood on the left wing of our artistic community and jointed with the communist party in the struggle for a new social order.

At the time of the first Russian revolution Vladimir Il'ich Lenin also dealt with issues pertaining to the relationship between writers and the party in his essay entitled "Party Organization and Party Literature." In light of the good and bad experiences of the revolutionary movement there gradually evolved the idea concerning the close-knit relationship between the party and party literature, i.e., the authors and writers of that literature. Lenin considered the solidarity of the party and writers to be of critical importance in countries where a communist party is the guiding force of a society and where it channels the best forces of such a society in the direction of progress. "The party principle in literature is a factor in and the result of a highly advanced struggle waged by the party, it is a socialist ideal," says Lenin, adding that, "Any deviation from the party spirit, even if it occurs in a revolutionary form, is an expression of bourgeois thought." We can see how timely this very idea of Lenin's was during the pre-crisis and crisis periods in Czechoslovakia. In those days writers were urged to adopt a "non-party revolutionary spirit," which in the fields of politics, economics, and culture amounted to a repudiation of all the achievements won by the communist party in its revolutionary struggle.

Lenin's essay "Party Organization and Party Literature" is of key importance when it comes to questions of the relationship between writers and the party. Since the time when it was written we have been on many occasions witnesses to attempts to drive a wedge between writers and the party. It would well suit the international forces of reaction if writers were to come into conflict with the policies of the communist parties in those countries where

the socialist revolution has been victorious. But there is no reason why this should ever come to pass. "Only an immature cultural world and a short-sighted political world can ever come into conflict with each other," said Julius Fucik, and his words also apply to literature and its authors. The forces of socialist political thought do not dictate to the literary world or to writers, just as the literary world and writers do not dictate to the political world. The fact is rather that literature derives the substance of its art from the everyday life of society, and hence also from political life.

Nor is there in Czechoslovakia today any force that would be capable of driving writers away from the communist party, as was also recently reaffirmed by the congresses of the Czech and Slovak writers unions. The literary community is working in harmony with the party's policies in an effort to influence the state of the social consciousness. In terms of the creative praxis of writers this also means that they must awaken within readers an awareness of the need to eliminate the shortcomings that they see around them and in themselves, that they must encourage readers not to be indifferent toward society, just as they are not indifferent toward themselves. However, the social consciousness can be effectively influenced only by those writers who are capable of artistically portraying the revolutionary process that is taking place in the present era. They are active participants in this process to the extent that they are also aware of the political significance and impact of the works they create, to the extent that they consciously understand what is going on around them and dedicate themselves with conviction to promoting the party's policies. Thus, their literature becomes imbued with a sense of commitment and the party spirit only when they gain an awareness of their role in a modern world divided along class lines and decide to work and live accordingly.

The covert and overt opponents of literature as an expression of the party spirit and the sense of social commitment usually pretend as if this kind of literature is merely a fabrication of the communist party. But the fact is that it has long existed as a body of literature which strives to change reality, as "a literature which organizes action," in the words of F. X. Salda. In a polemic with the defenders of the political neutrality of literature Heinrich Mann proclaimed that, "to the extent that it becomes politically oriented, a literary work also becomes more human-oriented." A similar idea was expressed by the great Frenchman Emile Zola: "Literature and politics are concerned with the same subject, the same goal--man. Thus, if they are both not to degenerate, they must be interconnected."

The commitment of writers to the politics of the communist party of course does not mean that they are supposed to create a body of literature that is composed solely of correct political views. Writing which is not artistic is also ideologically mute. A writer does not win readers by boring them to death. Consequently, the party's efforts aimed at reinforcing the socialist consciousness of society are not helped by writing that is artistically vacuous and structurally simplistic. The 15th Congress of the CPCZ, which

was highly appreciative of the successes achieved in the arts, at the same time pointed out that we are also still encountering works of low ideological and artistic quality. As far as writers are concerned, this means that they must live up to higher standards when it comes to the ideological and artistic portrayal of the revolutionary transformations affecting all our lives and that by means of an emotionally more effective depiction of modern socialist life they must inspire readers to adopt a positive attitude toward the ideals of communism. To this end, however, it is not enough for a writer merely to try to persuade others as to the virtues of communism without being just as convinced himself so as to be able to serve as a source of inspiration to other people. Merely to come out publicly in favor of communism and Marxism is not the same thing as being a Marxist. "He who is not a Marxist does not long remain on the side of the left," wrote Bedrick Vaclavek, and future events bore out the truth of this statement on many separate occasions. In the literary world too individuals have come along who outwardly proclaim themselves to be in favor of Marxism and hypocritically convince the party of their philosophical steadfastness solely for careerist reasons. These same people accommodated themselves to anti-party views for the same reasons at the end of the 1960's. It is generally well known what eventually happened to these professional opportunists.

In everyone's case it eventually comes out into the open as to what position he really occupies on the ideological front. Just as no one can escape making a choice on where one stands in the ideological struggle, neither can writers avoid answering the question once posed by Maxim Gorki: "Whose side are you on, you masters of the arts?" When one takes a stand in intellectual terms on the side of progress and the scientific world view, then events push one almost automatically in the direction of the communist party. This is what happened to Bertolt Brecht, who came to the conclusion that, "in literature one should base one's work on the platform constituted by the world view of that class and its revolutionary party which offers the most universal cure to the most pressing ills of human society."

Just as is the case with literary works, writers too pass through phases of development which are closely connected with historical changes. The most important such change experienced by writers in this country was that which took place in Victorious February [1948]. At that time a fundamental change occurred in the position occupied by writers and in their relationship with the party. The aftermath of the February events was also the right time for writers to consider Lenin's statement on the options open to the intelligentsia: "They can join either the working class or the bourgeoisie. But they can best fulfill their mission under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party."

Shortly after the February victory a Congress of National Culture, which was called into session on the party's initiative at the Lucerna theater in Prague on 11 April 1948, helped to map out the future orientation of writers and the entire artistic community. It was on this occasion that Klement Gottwald also spelled out the party's attitude toward writers and other

artists. Gottwald dealt extensively with the question of the transformation of writers and other creative people into socialist artists. He stressed that there are two aspects of this process, objective and subjective. The objective aspect consists in the fact that the socialist revolution also produced a qualitative change in the social status of writers. They have become part of the working people, and the objective conditions have been established which will enable them to engage in socialist creative work. On the subjective side, however, given their views, habits, moral natures, concepts and prejudices, not many writers had yet matured to the point where they could take full advantage of this new status. Gottwald referred specifically to cast prejudices, the tendency of artists to indulge feelings of superiority, exclusiveness, and separateness from the lives of the working people, and their disdain for physical labor. He concluded from all this that artists were only just beginning to become aware of their new status and new opportunities. The way in which artists were supposed to take advantage of this new situation, for their own benefit and for the benefit of society as a whole, was perceived by Gottwald as lying in their mastery of Marxism-Leninism and in their close involvement with the people and the people's revolutionary party.

Future events confirmed the importance of the questions posed at that time by Gottwald on behalf of the party, i.e., to what extent did the socialist revolution find Czechoslovak writers subjectively prepared to understand the meaning of the revolutionary act which took place in February; were they able to understand this act as being a necessary, inevitable, and historical phenomenon, and will they continue to be cognizant of its depth and enduring significance in the future; to what extent did the victorious revolution change writers, and to what extent have they consciously come over to the side of the working class and its communist party, or have they done so only as a result of a reflex reaction or opportunistic calculations?

After February the party also expected that writers would help it to transform the old society. Many writers lived up to this expectation, but there were also those who had not yet even managed to transform themselves. The latter group was prophetically described by an opinion voiced at the Congress of National Culture: "The lesser the talent of an artist, the more we hear about his personal problems, the more unpleasantly we realize how the utterances of the imaginary personages of his works speak to us of the author's anxieties, of his internal irreconcilable contradictions." Twenty years later these people came completely out into the open during the crisis period of 1968-1969. They declared the party spirit in literature and socialist realism to be anathema. They proclaimed as the only correct approach ideas and concepts whose sole purpose is to misuse literature by turning it against the party in order to promote the political aims of rightist forces. And they succeeded in confusing and disorienting a number of writers, who only later began to realize the error of their ways.

It was during the period of consolidation that the party created conditions that led to positive changes in the attitudes of writers. It set into



motion a process which contributed to a renewal of the socialist character of our literature and to the drawing of distinctions between different types of writers. No one was counted out to the extent that he did not count himself out by virtue of his belief that the future would vindicate his past mistakes. The strengthening of relations between writers and the party was also a part of the process of consolidation. There was no lack of patience in the course of strengthening these relations. The statement made by Comrade Husak in 1972 at the October plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee on the main tasks of ideological work also applied to writers: "Patience is required in particular in our approach to talented artists. We can win their support for the cause of our socialist society. We can establish a close working relationship with these people, and we can bring them over to the side of the working class. In these matters it is necessary that we should proceed to act in a most ethical manner, without indulging in rightist liberalism or opportunism, but also without indulging in sectarian pseudo-radicalism, which outwardly appears to be in line with the revolutionary approach, but which in reality can inflict harm on our party."

The wide-ranging process of differentiation in the arts in general and also among writers proceeded to unfold in keeping with the Leninist principles of party ethics and sensitivity and was accompanied by a patient explanation of the issues at hand and by taking an individual approach to the case of each writer. The Czech and Slovak writers unions, which applied to the field of literature "The Lessons Learned From the Crisis Events in the Party and in Society During the Period Following the 13th Congress of the CPCZ," played a major role in building a united literary front. The wisdom and far-sightedness of the party's policy toward writers was confirmed by future events, which culminated in the Proclamation of the Czechoslovak Committees of Artistic Unions that met in January of this year in the Prague National Theater. In addition, all of the positive forces representing Czech and Slovak writers openly and unequivocally aligned themselves with this document. In so doing they registered their support for the common task of socialist construction under the leadership of the communist party.

Nor does the party manifest its influence with writers by ordering them or prompting them as to what and how they ought to write. Nor does it interfere with creative processes when it comes to aesthetic questions. These questions are decided by the writers themselves. Nor does their close relationship with the party restrict their artistic freedom, insofar as we also understand that freedom to imply a conscious sense of responsibility. It is the individual responsibility of each writer in creating his work to seek guidance from the ideals of the communist party, with which he has identified on the basis of his personal knowledge and convictions. The close bonds that exist between writers and their works and the party is not some kind of unilateral or self-sustaining relationship. The policies of the party take into account the multifaceted nature of life, and in portraying life it expects writers to take a dialectical approach in keeping with Marx's teaching that it is not enough just to understand and explain the world, rather it is also necessary to change it. "Art, which is imbued

with the communist party spirit and which, by means of the creative method of socialist realism and the plethora of different forms of artistic expression, portrays the multifaceted life of our people and its struggles, will always enjoy the support of the party and our people," states the report to the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, and these words also apply to literature and to writers.

In order to advance the cause of socialism in conjunction with its consolidation and defense it is also necessary to wage a systematic struggle against anticommunism. Literature is a powerful ideological weapon in this regard. The forces of the anticommunist offensive are paying a great deal of attention to writers, since literature is occupying a more and more influential position in terms of its ideological influence on the public mind. The struggle which is being waged by the communist parties against international imperialism is still going on as a factor in the current world situation. For this reason as well, writers, who intellectually inhabit a world consisting of their ideas and imagination, must stand with both feet and wholeheartedly on the ground of contemporary political reality. Writers, just like other artists, need more room to move around in and greater opportunities to experiment and also run the risk of failure than do other people in their day-to-day lives as citizens who might be called to account for turning out poor quality work. On the other hand, writers too are citizens of a socialist state. It is therefore essential that they should maintain a balanced relationship between both spheres of their lives, which constitute a dialectical whole. It is a mistake to believe that writers can live in some kind of political vacuum. Writers are provided with a reliable source of guidance in the form of the program of the communist party, which is tied to the realistic prospects of and to the scientifically verified and practically guaranteed future of socialism.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### 'RUDE PRAVO' ON COMMON FEATURES OF CZECH, SLOVAK LITERATURE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jun 77 p 5 AU

[Article by Vitezslav Rzonek: "On the Margin of the New Features of Czech-Slovak Literary Mutuality, in the Common Interest"]

[Excerpts] We see that through the national specifics [of Slovak and Czech literature] the aim toward which each of the national literatures is developing is more and more clearly asserting itself. The foreground of artistic portrayal--quite frequently in a sharp polemic struggle--is being occupied by the common socialist interests which are linked with the roots of the very existence of the two nations. We see a double process. On the one hand the real existing socialist context is the condition for the development of the national cultures and, at the same time, the new features of national life show the common unmistakable features of the socialist reality. The Czech and the Slovak literature are acquiring a new socialist content. This is becoming one of the bonds bringing the two nations closer to each other, strengthening, intensifying and developing the socialist consciousness of our country's citizens. The echo to literature of this kind from among readers in the original and in mutual translations confirms this.

We had occasion to realize the social significance of a literature arising out of awareness of the Czechoslovak socialist statehood in another form in the sixties. Then also the sphere of Czech and Slovak mutuality, particularly the literary one, became the stage of an intense attack of the right wing. Quite logically it first began to throw doubts on the principles of socialist literature in order to subsequently assert against it views and literary tendencies which attacked the principles of the socialist society, which aimed against the principles of Czechoslovak socialist statehood. Quite logically they [the right wing] liquidated, together with the concrete vital content, also the national features of contemporary artistic expression.

Although the right wing succeeded in gaining room for its views which negatively influenced literature and also other spheres of art, for instance figurative art (let us note how in this situation a talent which succumbed could not show its specific nature), it did not succeed in breaking the live awareness of Czech and Slovak socialist mutuality as a condition for the existence and the future of our two nations.

If we compare the postwar development of the countries of the socialist community, we ascertain that despite their diversity their literatures are drawing closer, that they are influencing each other and that a new cultural context emerges. With iron necessity the economic and political cooperation among these countries also leads to common features in the economy, in the political system and throughout the sphere of the political superstructure.

Internationalism which in the past was an expression of the combat solidarity of the working people defending their rights is becoming the live component of daily practice in the socialist community. In it the national and the international aspect in unity constitutes the condition of the nations' common interest. Socialist humanism which sprouts from this practice is acquiring a new quite concrete shape which must be developed consciously and systematically in all the directions.

Seen from this viewpoint the development of Czech and Slovak mutuality, the development of the Czechoslovak socialist literature, together with the strengthening of the unity of the CSSR, concurrently signifies a concrete process of strengthening and intensifying the international attachment to the worldwide socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, the system which represents a new stage of the worldwide socialist revolution laying the path toward the communist future.

In this context the question arises whether contemporary Czechoslovak socialist literature utilizes all the opportunities our contemporary conditions offer it to fulfill its social mission. Despite all the successes of our literature mentioned above the reply is not unequivocally positive. This is so because in our literatures the topic of the workers class, the topic of the existing international relations is essentially absent, that is, the very thing which is the condition for the new features of the Czech and Slovak mutuality, of the new features typical for the socialist community, the very thing that is in the common interests of the present and the future of our two literatures is missing. Life is simply ahead of literature. Because of its importance the search for a reply to this question deserves an independent essay.

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EAST GERMANY

FRG PAPER PUBLISHES GRD PROTESTANT SYNOD REPORTS

Difficulties of Church Under Socialism

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 May 77 pp 10-11

[Text] In the report of the Conference of Protestant Church Administrations delivered recently by East Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr to the Synod of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR, a great deal of space is taken up, in comparison with internal church subjects, by a discussion of the relationship of the church toward socialist society in the GDR. "But this corresponds to the present situation," commented the bishop in Goerlitz, where the synod of the GDR church league has assembled for the last session of its second legislative period. The report primarily covers the main questions of the past 4 years. In view of the importance of the report, the synod decided to make the full text available to all Protestant communities in the GDR. There are sizeable difficulties standing in the way of this, however. For instance, it is not to be expected that the five church Sunday papers published in the GDR will be allowed to print the full report or even the most important passages--despite the fact that these church papers are not on sale at newsstands but are available only by subscription. Below we are publishing the text of the main chapter of the report. The chapter is headed "The Church Under Socialism."

"In the community of testimony and service, we learn what it means to be a church not beside, not against, but under socialism." (Decision of the Third Session of the First Synod of the league in Eisenach in 1971.)

This is the way in which this statement by the synod of the league in Eisenach in 1971 is generally quoted. The formula is handy, but it should be interpreted by a corresponding formula contained in the report of the Conference of Church Administrations: "A community of testimony and service of churches in the German Democratic Republic will have to think carefully about its place--a place in a society as pronounced as this, not beside it and not against it." We have to do concretely with the socialist society of the GDR.

Does it pay to deal in formulas? Do formulas in fact decide anything? We Christians are not unfamiliar with the significance of formulas. Not long ago, we recalled the Formula of Concord of 1577, and our synods assented to the Leuenberg Concord. Formulas of concord record unanimity of fundamental convictions. In the relationship between state and church, particularly where it cannot simply be regulated through pragmatic talks, supportive formulas, as marks of a process, are necessary and helpful. For our relationship of a church toward the state, we need generally recognized formulas of coexistence such as that of Eisenach.

What is at stake is coexistence of people and coexistence in communities of people, not agreement of ideas and fundamental views. We have often pointed out that the term "ideological coexistence," which is heard occasionally, "does not exist," that at least it is not pertinent, and dangerous, to coexistence in a society. Either it is not pertinent (because, like it or not, ideologies exist, and it is only a question of whether they are right or wrong), or it contains the threat of eliminating one ideology in order to make another one prevail. History supplies terrible pictures of this sort of thing.

The term "the church under socialism" is threatening to become an empty formula unless the contrast with a wrong "beside" and "against" is kept in view, as it was in Eisenach in 1971, and unless it is increasingly filled with concrete content. The decision of the synod in Zuessow in 1976 said about this: "One must think more intensively about the question of how we can be a church under socialism. It is necessary for our mission to be constantly considered afresh, filled with content and proved afterwards. It must be persevered in time and again in the freedom and tie springing from the Gospel. We are certain that the movement, into which the Gospel takes us, of being a church in whatever society may exist at a given time is right."

Proceeding from such considerations, the synods of the league have striven for further concretization. Let us recall Schwerin in 1973: "A church under socialism would be a church which helps the Christian citizen and the individual community to find a way in socialist society in the freedom and tie of faith, and to strive to seek the best for all and for the whole. A church under socialism would be a church which also as such, in the same freedom of faith, is prepared to participate fully wherever human life is preserved and improved in our society and, wherever necessary, to help ward off danger to human life. As has been shown, it can happen that in the light of the promise of the Lord and under his commandment we Christians see problems and needs in the world and society differently from the way in which they are viewed on the basis of other premises, or hear questions which others do not hear. In those cases lodged our inquiries."

As regards the socialist society of the GDR, we think that we should place special emphasis on three recent events.

The Ninth SED Congress stated: "In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, the main task in forming a developed socialist society con-

sists in further raising the people's material and cultural standard of living" (Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany). As a criterion of a developed socialist society, the party congress emphasizes the inseparable unity of economic and social policy. It singled out as an aim "the rapprochement of all classes and strata on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung of the working class." Of specific importance also for churches in the GDR is the adoption of a passage in the party program regarding freedom of conscience and faith and equal rights of all citizens regardless of race and nationality, religious belief and social position." This had been preceded by the forming of an opinion in this matter at the conference of church administrations, during which the question was posed as to why the party program did not contain any references at all to free exercise of religion and other important statements about the relationship between church and state, such as had still been contained in the party program of 1963.

The Protestant churches in the GDR can only welcome the decision about socio-political measures which was published shortly after the party congress-- measures concerning wage policy, improvement of pensions but, above all, measures concerning assistance to working mothers, concerning the introduction of a 40-hour workweek for the majority of citizens and concerning longer vacations. Paid release of working mothers is not only a considerable economic sacrifice and a help for the mother; it is of importance for the flourishing of the child in one of the most important phases of its physical and intellectual development.

Finally, we cannot disregard the important Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe of June 1976, whose message states: "They (the parties) consider dialog and cooperation between the communists and all other democratic and peace-loving forces to be necessary. In this, they proceed from what they have in common, advocating the elimination of distrust and prejudices which can hinder their cooperation.... An important role in the struggle for the rights of the working people, in behalf of democracy and peace, is being played by increasingly broad Catholic forces, members of other religious communities and faithful of other denominations. The communist and workers parties are conscious of the need of dialog and joint action with these forces--which constitutes an inseparable component of the struggle for the development of Europe in a democratic spirit, in the direction of social progress."

Protestant Christians in the GDR are open to such a development. They are prepared to share in the responsibility for life in politics and society regardless of ideological differences to the extent that this is in their power. We can still hear the question asked by synod member Dr Falcke in Dresden in 1972: "Are we not caught up in a wrong concern about our identity as a church and Christians particularly where it is a question of participating in the work concerning concrete tasks of the world today?"

Such participation demands that those who are prepared for it make themselves known to one another. This includes taking a stand on one's history. Thus representatives of the league in their way and from their point of view went

about the task of drawing up a balance sheet 30 years after the war. The report "Remembrance and Testament" delivered at a function organized by the National Council of the National Front and the state secretary for church affairs on 15 April 1975 culminates in the exhortation--following some words coined by Heinrich Neine--to "free oneself from within," free oneself from the tie to power from arbitrary distribution of rights and office, from political abstinence, from colonial thinking of any kind, from national arrogance, from the fear of socialism and communism. "When a more just and peaceful world is at stake and we know that it is God's will that we should participate in the effort to achieve it, we need not take the limits of ideology more seriously than the common task."

To cope with the past in a way which also points to the future includes the fact that the Protestant churches of the league and the Free Churches participated, with a sizable donation, in erecting a "child's memorial" in Warsaw in the form of a health center for children. Through careful information and by going along with the action, it was possible not only to reach the financial goal of 500,000 marks but as much as 1 million marks, and such a sizable amount contributed to eliminating still existing inhibitions on both sides. Finally, the direct contact between the church in this country and the responsible organs in Poland is proving particularly effective. The churches have striven for doing historical and theological justice to Thomas Muenzer in a series of student functions in commemoration of the Pheasants' Revolt.

What "the church under socialism" amounts to is demonstrated first of all by the question of whether the individual citizen in the GDR's socialist society can live with his family as a conscious Christian and can be confident that he and all Christians will also be able to do so in the future.

It has been stated frequently and impressively, most recently by the chairman of the State Council, General Secretary Erich Honecker, at the first session of the newly elected People's Chamber: "Our socialist society offers any citizen, regardless of age and sex, weltanschauung and religious faith, security and safety, a clear perspective and the possibility of fully developing his or her abilities and talents. This we stick to."

This sentence appears to us to express unmistakably the fact that full development also of the personality of Christian citizens is to be insured now and in the future.

Apparently words as clear as this have not yet become property to the extent that their effect is noticed everywhere. The program declarations concerning communist education do not leave any kind of room for a basic philosophy other than Marxism-Leninism. (Cf the chapter "Entwicklung der Volksbildung und kommunistischen Erziehung der Jugend" [Development of People's Education and Communist Education of Youth] in the SED Party Program.) The problem lies exactly where the league synod in Zuessow in 1976 said it lay: "The tension between assuring freedom of belief and conscience on the one hand and the educational goal of the communist personality on the other requires fundamental clarification which must become effective for the children and young people of our community."



In terms of a "sound, confident togetherness," which is mentioned time and again, it is not a good sign if a Christian must wonder whether in the building of communism the Christian faith may perhaps be, after all, only a remnant which ought to be eliminated.

We have stated on several occasions that cases of out-right discrimination, if they can be brought into the open and identified by name and residence of the individual involved, have been checked out and have generally been eliminated. But the fact is that they keep cropping up, particularly in the sphere of people's education. Why is this? Those who cause such discrimination probably have seldom had any personal experience with the church. Might this have been caused by the fact that the general line is not penetrating into courses and training? What is supposed to be the purpose of books such as "Was ist Kommunismus?" [What is Communism?] which have appeared in mass editions? When the teacher is told that "bourgeois morality" pretends "hypocritically that there exists an eternal morality outside society and the class struggle" and that this "is irreconcilable with our concept of morality," is it not likely to occur to him to connect this verdict with Christian morality? What is the relation between that picture of religion and morality and the assertion that ideological differences between Marxist ideology and Christian belief are no longer antagonistic? Is the fact, now being noticed more frequently, that Christian children are under pressure from their fellow students, beyond the scope of educational influence on the part of the teachers? The fact that sizable criticism of religion has been integrated into the weltanschauung of the party is evident. But it worries us that it is not transmitted appreciably by way of a positive exposition of one's own conviction and with respect for the conviction of the other person. In many instances, parents are warned from a position of power, doubtlessly enjoyed by teachers to a large extent, in the interest of the future of their children not to have them participate in Christian instruction. This makes it necessary to appeal for standing up for one's conviction. But is this a good thing in terms of the state and of the furthering of mutual confidence? To quote Brecht, our country ought not to "need heroes." It is also hard for many Christians to comprehend that frequently the SED's claim to leadership, anchored in the constitution, leads people to the conclusion that even the smallest units should be headed only by party members. Should this claim to leadership really be understood as being exclusive? Proven experts who profess the Christian faith are being left in important posts; on the other hand, young committed Christians have little prospect of getting there no matter how efficient experts and good colleagues they may be.

As ever, we advocate that members of the Building Units [Baueinheiten] be allowed to engage in studies. It is a sign of strength that the GDR Government has afforded the possibility of refusing armed service. But this sign of strength is being clouded by restrictive measures. Thus it is understandable that misgivings time and again come out into the open. Occasional explosions indicate that there is a hypersensitivity at the "base" and an inclination to distrust the administrations of the church and their striving for a greater joint effort. The fact that as late as the day of the elections GDR media reported participation in the voting by leading churchmen was a

mistake which considerably encumbered the relationship between state and church, among the churches and between administrations and communities. Whose interest can such a development serve? There has been no disavowal of the GDR press commentaries of 31 August 1976 about Oskar Bruesewitz burning himself to death--commentaries which, whatever one's attitude toward the act may be, show a lack of respect for the dignity of Christian fellow citizens.

There can be no approval at all of the special conclusions some people feel they must draw from such tensions. If Christians say it is impossible to live here, this cannot be accepted in any circumstances. There is no such thing here as persecution of Christians. Bishop D. Fraenkel, at the synod of his church area, recently has said here what needs to be said on this subject. True, things are not being made as easy for us Christians here as in some other countries of the world. Doubtless it is less easy here than elsewhere for us to practice a "religion with decision." But this too is God's world, and Christ also died for the people here. Here too the Christian community has its mission. The pastors are also charged with this mission. Through ordination and inauguration, they have been tied spiritually to their communities. Their communities need them. If, they leave, they impose an all the greater burden on their colleagues in neighboring communities, for the arising gaps can hardly be closed at this time. It is strange that some Western press organs find this so difficult to understand although they otherwise invariably urge pastors to take their community work seriously and not to go to other areas. In their opinion, if pastors leave their communities in the GDR--communities which certainly consist of Christians no less than elsewhere and need their pastors just as badly--they have every right not only to leave their communities but immediately to be installed elsewhere. These papers are not afraid to accept assertions of the former pastors concerned without checking, and to make accusations against our church administrations.

In a conversation with the executive of the Conference of Church Administrations at the beginning of its legislative period, the state secretary for church affairs stated something like this: The relations between state and church, it has been stated, are a process which cannot be viewed independently from social development. This concept gives the churches and their administrations a sound opportunity despite all ideological differences to seek a dialog for the benefit of all Christian citizens and accept offers of dialog. The procedural character of the state-church relationship makes dialog a prerequisite of making some progress together.

It is a sound trend that the number of talks have increased and that they have gained in substantive significance. Primarily, the substantive talks must be mentioned for which prospects were held out as early as in 1971. Through the good services of the state secretary for church affairs, the executive of the Conference of Church Administrations and the presidium of the synod of the league four times were oriented comprehensively by topnotch experts about problems of European security, disarmament and about economic and social questions. Substantive talks were also conducted about interests of agriculture and forestry and about legal questions on the experts' level.

The executive had the opportunity on several occasions of discussing as a body with the state secretary or through its chairman, in detail and very openly, things which were close to our hearts. At this point the following needs to be inserted in the report: We are pleased today to be able to note that on 11 May 1977 it was possible to conduct with the state secretary for church affairs the long-requested talk concerning fundamental questions of the coexistence of Christians and non-Christians. The talk was conducted by the executive of the conference and the office of the state secretary for church affairs. The executive was in a position to bring up very openly all question of concern to us and to note gratefully that there existed great readiness to listen, examine and pass on. The state secretary emphasized that his talk was only a beginning. There was therefore no publicity. Worth mentioning further are meetings of church administrations of Land churches with the bezirks and numerous meetings at the kreis level. The state is clearly trying to see to it that aim is clarification of the situation and mutual information, not indoctrination. Whenever the representatives of the church were able to share in the concerns of the responsible state representative, the talks were felt to be particularly fruitful.

The talks made it possible for many difficulties to be eliminated. The Conference of Church Administrations therefore generally considered it better and more helpful to make public declarations which are sure to reach the mill of political discussions.

In addition to the talks, as constantly recurring contacts, some special events in the course of the past 4 years should be mentioned as typical:

1. The visit of Minister for Health and Social Affairs Prof Dr Mecklinger to the Samaritan establishments in Fuerstenwalde, which presented a renewed opportunity for special recognition of the charitable work of the church.
2. The possibility, previously nonexistent, of erecting churches in new development areas. The 8 member churches of the league thereupon for the time being notified 55 projects, including 10 priority projects. Negotiations about the locations are continuing and, it is hoped, will be concluded to the satisfaction of all concerned. They have been facilitated by the fact that the possibility has been conceded of exchanging land in church possession for building land so that the churches can stand on church land.
3. Finally, the Conference of Church Administrations in a contribution of its own took a stand on the draft of a new labor code and very quickly received a sympathetic reply by the chairman of the state council, General Secretary Erich Honecker.

#### Human Rights

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 31 May 77 p 6

[Text] In our issue of 25 May, we published the main chapter-- dealing with the difficulties entailed in being "a church

under socialism"--of the report submitted by the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR to the Synod of the League of Eight Protestant Churches in the GDR at the congress in Goerlitz. Below we are printing, in slightly abridged form, the chapter "Church and World Problems" of the church administration report, which tying in with the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki in August 1975, deals with human rights.

During the legislative period of this Synod there occurred an event of international political significance which aroused the churches in a particular way to share in the thinking, responsibility and hope. The event was the CSCE in Helsinki in August 1975. It ended in the signing of the Final Act of 1 August 1975 by all European countries except Albania, by Canada and by the United States.

The Final Act is no international legal document in the meaning of the law of treaties but a declaration of intention. Precisely in this political "weakness" lies its moral strength. The norms of the Final Act, which go beyond the classic principles of international law of the UN Charter, are intended gradually to become political reality. This is the beginning of a process in which, in accordance with the desire of the contracting parties, not only governments but "institutions, organizations and persons have a relevant and positive role of contributing to achieving these goals of cooperation" (Principle IX).

Thus the Final Act itself also calls on the churches to contribute to bringing about a peace on progressive security, improved cooperation of states and more intensive coexistence of people. It is characteristic of the Helsinki Declaration that for the first time security policy and humanitarian concerns are combined in it: the security of the state serves the security of human life and human dignity. There can be no lasting peace without such security.

The league and its member churches, communities and Christians in the GDR from the very beginning devoted great attention to the CSCE and advocated that it take place. They emphatically welcomed its result, the Final Act. As early as October 1975, the league played host to a consultation by the Conference of European Protestant Churches (KEK) in Buckow under the topic "The CSCE and the Churches." Through the Fifth Plenary Session of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, the churches of the league are trying to draw conclusions for their sphere from an appreciation of the Final Act of the CSCE. On this basis of recommendations of Nairobi, the chairman of the conference on 8 April 1976 handed to the state secretary for church affairs the Nairobi decisions on questions of disarmament and the documents of the Buckow Consultation of European Churches concerning the CSCE. On the occasion of the first anniversary of Helsinki, the presidium of the conference cited the results of Helsinki and asked all communities of the member churches of the league "to continue to devote attention to the Final Act of Helsinki." On 26 February 1977, a consultation of the "Church and Society

Committee took place in Berlin. Representatives from churches of the league participated in the joint conference of the KEK Presidium and Consultative Committee in Iasi, Romania, from 20 to 23 April 1977. Assimilation of the Final Act played an important part in many conversations between representatives of the state and the church administrations.

#### Laborious Continuing Effort

The fact that something came out of the CSCE and the Final Act itself are a sign of hope for a new era of political coordination in Europe, and thus for the whole world. The church has an idea of what it means to entertain hope for the life of the individual and that of peoples; it knows that hope wants to be maintained with faith and patience even when its fulfillment sometimes seems very remote.

The signatories of the Final Act themselves must have known that there would be disappointments. The various principles are in part in a state of strain toward one another. They are intended to be mutually interpreted. There has been theoretical and practical struggle to achieve this interpretation. The Buckow Consultation pointed out these difficulties as regards Principles VI and VII: "Thus the strain between advocacy of human rights and basic rights (Principle VII) and the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states (Principle VI) must not lead to the principle of noninterference being used to ward off advocacy of human rights. Conversely, advocacy of human rights must not serve as an excuse for political interference." Apparently, the principle of noninterference requires clarification, also as regards internationally practiced assessments of solidarity.

For the sake of humanity and peace, we Christians will take on the burden of continuing effort. We hope that the followup conference in Belgrade, which is to begin this year, will not merely come up with a list of fulfillments and deficits in the implementation of the Helsinki decisions, and particularly that it will not be used for "mutual charges about violations of human rights, and thus for jeopardizing the stabilizing function of this principle....

"In our opinion, methods must be found of bringing deficits in the realization of human rights out into the open without the use of propaganda, and of working toward their elimination." We should not ask the impossible of our governments, but we should also not be silent wherever the possible is not realized for incomprehensible reasons (as the message of the KEK Congress in Iasi put it).

The laborious continuing effort for the sake of humanity also includes a persistent pointing out of the fact that political and military detente are mutually interdependent. It is grotesque that political detente has not had a noticeable moderating effect on the armament efforts of peoples. Doubtless disarmament is one of the most complicated problems there is. "We therefore consider any agreed step, even the smallest, to be important. The KEK considers it desirable for member states to reduce their armament expenditures

with a view to a sensible economy and to making efforts in behalf of development possible" (from the message of the KEK Conference in Iasi).

Because we have a burning interest in these problems, we gladly followed an invitation by the state secretary for church affairs for a talk with leading personalities of the league on 8 April 1976. Ambassador Professor Dr Bock reported on questions of the CSCE and about negotiations aimed at mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. This was an opportunity to tell representatives of the GDR Government something about the motivation of the work of Christians and churches for peace and disarmament, to draft vis-a-vis the state interlocutor the beginnings of a peace concept of Protestant churches, as it were. We pointed out that for us Christians "peace" (shalom) is virtually the key to human coexistence. It goes without saying--that churches also everywhere advocate peace: talk about peace has sometimes become too noncommittal, too much bereft of risk, too cheap. It is necessary concretely to talk about peace. As specific tasks of the church in this field, we cited the following: to educate for peace, to promote trust, to set value standards, to create the awareness that war is not a solution of political conflicts.

Helsinki has taught us that one cannot talk about peace without mentioning human rights, that one cannot want to advocate human rights without advocating peace. To deal with human rights therefore is not to toy with a fancy utopia. For people to attain their rights is becoming more and more clearly a question of the survival of mankind.

Therefore the representatives of the churches of the league have participated intensively in the ecumenical dialog about human rights. Worth mentioning here, above all, are the consultations of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in St Poelten and Montreux /and?/ the Lutheran World League in Geneva.

Human rights are of course not a Christian invention; while they have been outlined in the Biblical heritage of ideas it has at times been necessary to make them prevail in the face [of] opposition by a society which regarded itself as Christian. Their content at any given time reflects what people have understood and demanded at any given time as their right in certain epochs of history. They have developed and bear the traces of this development. It is noticeable that in England, America and France they developed from a bourgeois protest against feudal fetters. The accent being placed by the socialist states makes noticeable the backdrop of a struggle against hunger, exploitation, lack of living quarters and unemployment. Similar fundamental demands are being made by the young national states which have become independent in this decade.

#### In the Tradition of the Prophets

It is thus no wonder that, depending on one's conceptual starting point, a struggle for the main content of human rights is taking place at present. For we live in a time of obvious dependence of all on all. Human rights miss their meaning if they are abused as a weapon of political confrontations

which can all too easily turn into hot war and destroy humanity together with its rights. This is probably the reason why in Principle VII of the Final Act of Helsinki human rights and peace are combined.

We Christians cannot stand idly by in this struggle. We know that the dignity of man has a deeper basis than his birth; we know that what must be defended is the right of the weaker vis-a-vis the stronger, the right to be free, i.e., to live a life responsible before God and therefore also before men. We know full well that man has forfeited every right before God, but for that very reason he is ready to be just toward his fellow man. Therefore a Christian, before demanding human rights for himself, should also always first understand and defend human rights as the vital rights of his fellow man.

It is hardly likely that the Christian community will embark on drafting its own code of human rights. Rather, in the tradition of the prophets of the old covenant, it will at any given time point out the human rights which happen to be in greatest jeopardy. It would oppose a one-sided understanding of human rights. A one-sided emphasis of the rights of the individual places the welfare of society as a whole in question. A one-sided emphasis of the rights of the community prevents the individual from exercising elementary vital rights.

We note that there have been occasions like the above-mentioned Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties when we were informed in a fairly differentiated and comprehensive manner. We all have welcomed the fact that sociopolitical measures not only insure work and bread for the individual in this country but are intended to insure for him a freer development of his personality and greater attention to his family. We have welcomed the fact that the treaties with the FRG opened up the possibility of assuaging human rigors by getting families together or through greater opportunities for visits. We hope that the retrograde tendency which has been noticeable for some time by way of reaction to a too extensive use of the new opportunities will soon make way again for a more generous application in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki. The churches are trying to assume the pastoral and charity dimension of the sometime difficult human problems and to bring them up before the authorities concerned at the suitable level and with the appropriate means. They view with concern the fact that the public confrontation concerning human rights is threatening to lead to polarizations which are not doing any good to the substantive dialog about the well-being of man and peace in the world. They formulated this in a letter to the KKIA [Commission of Churches for International Affairs] of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in July 1976: "It is also part of the required contextual relevance that in certain situations and spheres we do not want to approach pending problems on the route of public confrontation outside the borders of our country, but want to try to handle and clarify them at the place where the responsibility actually resides. The church in the GDR is not guided by the desire to make certain subjects of the confrontation taboo, but by the desire to help remove them effectively." This letter is part of the efforts of the churches of the league to concretize the international debate on an ecumenical level and to help motivate Christian participation in it.

If the churches are to see to it "that the life and coexistence of people becomes more secure, is less in jeopardy and becomes happier and more human," they must do some practicing of the legislative period of this synod, October 1973, a model for such responsible cooperation was created through the participation of the league in the Moscow World Congress of the Forces of Peace in 1973, as part of the national delegation of the GDR. At that time, our participants pointed out the following as particularly important: "The fact that the representatives of the league were members of the GDR delegation opened up the possibility of joint work with other social forces in basic questions of our human coexistence. This represented an opportunity for all parties to gain a fresh point of view of one another."

#### Contribution to Woman's Year

In the last quarter of the UN Woman's Year, which occurred under the sign of the objectives of "equal rights, development, peace," a World Congress in the International Woman's Year took place in Berlin from 20 to 24 October 1975. As many as eight religious organizations participated in the preparations--Oberkirchenrat [Senior Church Councilor] Christa Lewek on the part of the league and on behalf of the Ecumenical Council of Churches. The congress made it possible to render a specific Christian contribution on all committees.

The attempt of the league to bring the Christian participants in the congress together met with great response--despite some difficulties. In the center of the congress week there stood a church service in the Sophienkirche under the topic "En Route to Partnership." A meeting and information center had been established in the Marienkirche.

The league has received an invitation to the world congress "Religious Advocates for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations Between People" to be held in Moscow in June 1977. The conference decided to dispatch a five-member delegation headed by Land Bishop Dr Rathke. This was preceded by a lively discussion in the church administrations. The churches have had hardly any experience so far as regards talks with other denominations. Theological and practical objections were raised. The conference decided to opt for participation in an observer status.

8790

CSO: 2300



WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON FDGB CONGRESS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 31 No 24, 6 Jun 77 pp 54,56

[Unattributed article: "Debit and Credit"]

[Text] At its latest mammoth congress in East Berlin GDR labor unionists confirmed their role as pillars of the state --in case of doubt the representatives of the employees champion the interests of the party.

In the GDR the procedure has now assumed the aspect of a tradition: A year after the SED congresses the Free German Labor Union Federation (FDGB) convokes its best and its brightest. For 4 days in May some 3,000 delegates to the Ninth FDGB Congress talked in the great hall of the East Berlin Palace of the Republic.

And, exactly as at virtually all earlier labor union congresses, no social concerns were discussed, neither wages nor more humane working conditions. The chief item on the agenda was once again the party's favorite topic: The labor unionists were supposed to discuss how efficiently and rationally to organize labor in all sectors of the GDR economy.

Two weeks before the meeting SED Politburo member Harry Tisch, head of the FDGB for the past 2 years, called together some 100 activists and so-called innovators in order to discuss with them "problems of the socialist competition." According to one of those present, the attendants at that meeting "got an inkling" that "our productivity did not seem to be all that wonderful." The "senior comrades in the Presidium" were observed to be "somewhat nervous and dissatisfied"--as if "our economy was not really getting off the ground," and "we were not doing enough to push our fellow workers."

However, the FDGB chairman avoided any public statements about that which troubles the GDR economy and the "senior comrades." In the course of his nearly 4 hour-long report to the delegates about the "greatest class organization in the GDR" (SED formula) he praised mainly the successful line of the party (Tisch: "Excellent results were achieved") and congratulated the nearly 8 million GDR labor unionists on their state which pursues a "labor policy"--devoted "to the happiness of our people."

Yet last fall party chief Erich Honecker had indicated the limits of happiness for the people. At that time, addressing the SED Central Committee, he admonished that it was imperative "far-sightedly and consistently" to provide the "necessary scientific prerequisites" for greater economic growth, "otherwise debit and credit will not balance."

In the past few years the FDGB had concerned itself a little more with the credit--in accordance with SED chief Erich Honecker's invitation "without hesitation more resolutely to represent" the interests of the workers. Two "sociopolitical programs," the last dating from 1976, had since been drawn up with the cooperation of the FDGB executive board.

The FDGB has its own group in the People's Chamber. In January last, for example, this group suggested the revision of the labor code. Tisch praised the new draft as "reinforcing the role of the labor unions." In fact it does so only insofar as the rights and duties of the FDGB are listed ahead of those of managers.

All the FDGB proposal does otherwise (although at 305 articles it is twice as bulky as the currently valid labor code dating back to 1961) is laboriously to combine the vast number of provisions which to this day regiment labor relations in the GDR.

At the same time the all-German claim is to be eliminated, following a similar elimination from the GDR Constitution 3 years ago. The preamble of the existing labor code, for example, mentions that the GDR must "prove to the entire German people the superiority of the socialist social system in all spheres." The new version no longer even mentions the West Germans.

By the beginning of the congress the FDGB chairman had registered nearly 150,000 suggestions and proposals from the membership for his draft which was reprinted in the labor union newspaper TRIBUNE.

Workers complained, for instance, that article 115 unjustly required them to work extra time if they were late on the job in the morning due to the frequent delays in bus and train services. FDGB chairman Tisch promised to take this and other items into account by providing that in such cases "agreement" should be reached between management and labor union leadership.

Obviously any labor union autonomy in matters concerning labor, social or wage matters is out of the question given the claims for socialist proportionality. In fact, says Siegfried Mampel, West Berlin jurist and commentator on the GDR Constitution, "the organs of the FDGB" are a solid "element of the united ruling system" of the GDR. In its charter, adopted in 1963, the FDGB itself defines its function as that of a "loyal helper" of the SED, drawing the ranks of blue and white collar workers as well as of members of the intelligentsia to firmly surround the party."

Despite this self-limitation many GDR citizens ascribe to the FDGB the relatively greatest merit for the improvement in social services achieved in recent years: The wage and pension increases decreed in 1973 are costing the state budget M36 billion in the current five-year plan--from 1976-1980; another M14 billion are to be expended for the second sociopolitical program--including

- M4 billion for raising to at least M400 per month the minimum wages for the total of 2.5 million workers in the lowest wage groups, and
- M6 billion for pension increases amounting to an average of M40 per person and month.

Nevertheless, not even such efforts to raise the level of wages and pensions every 3 or 4 years have been able to free the East German labor union from the reputation in cases of doubt to represent the interests of the party bureaucracy rather than those of the workers.

Especially the comparison suggested by West German television broadcasts and visits to West Germany tends to downgrade the labor union's class representation: Even now the GDR industrial worker earns hardly more than half the monthly wages of his West German colleague. Neither the lower wages tax (about 14 percent) nor the subsidies for consumer goods (about M27 in every M100 of purchases) can quite make up the difference.

A comparison of social benefits is even less favorable: In 1974 per capita expenditure per FRG resident amounted to M2,126 for social security pensions and other welfare payments, the respective amount in the GDR was only M682--barely a third. In any case the GDR does not have any ongoing adjustment of pensions to the level of wages.

In the GDR blame for pensioner dissatisfaction and the pessimistic pension expectations of those still at work falls on the labor unions (in contrast to the Federal Republic). Because, according to the GDR Constitution, the FDGB is solely responsible for organizing the social security insurance of blue and white collar workers "on the basis of the self-government of those insured."

FDGB functionaries in state enterprises are confronted with a similar dilemma: In accordance with the fundamental socialist doctrine that abolition of private ownership of the means of production spells elimination of the class conflict, the labor union must function merely as the organization of coproprietors, the social employer, so to speak. It must constantly try to harmonize the demands of the state with the interests of the employees.

In the enterprises it is the first duty of the labor union leadership to mobilize the personnel for the accomplishment of plan assignments. The FDGB may use "economic levers" (SED shorthand)--that is raise performance by wages, premiums and other material incentives--only insofar as they serve this aim.

In the mid-1960's sociologist Dieter Voigt (now professor at Bochum's Ruhr University) questioned 900 construction workers in the GDR whether FDGB and SED looked after them on the building site. Of those polled 74 percent answered no. Only every 14th felt that his interests were actively taken care of. More recent sociological studies from the GDR show that this attitude as not changed to this day.

The workers consider labor union functionaries simply as the longer arm of the state power. On top of it the workers know very well that their FDGB spokesmen can do least where help would be most necessary--in cases of dismissal.

It is true that the current labor code obligates every factory to ask for the agreement of the labor union representation in the case of instant dismissal for "serious offenses against civic duties." But the labor union functionaries hardly ever oppose such management decisions.

Most of all does the labor union refuse assistance when matters become really ticklish--for instance to members who are fired because they apply for permission to emigrate to the Federal Republic.

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CSO: 2300

POLAND

DAILY LASHES OUT AT ANTI-POLISH HYSTERIA IN FRG

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13 Jun 77 p 4 AU

[Julian Bartosz article: "The Diary 77--Anti-Polish, Anti-Socialist Hysteria"]

[Summary] [Jan Batosz's article published by GAZETA ROBOTNICZA on Saturday is so interesting that we have decided to report it--SZTANDAR MLODYCH.]

"I spent 3 weeks in the FRG, wishing to find out how the FRG media treat the problem of detente. What I saw and experienced surpassed all my expectations. "Although I have been visiting the FRG regularly for the past 10 years, I have never experienced such a great intensity of the press and propaganda attacks against our country." My impression was that the "human rights" in Poland was the most important problem in the FRG at the time of my visit, although no interest at all was shown in the problems of the Polish people as such.

"What all the newspapers recorded with unbelievable pedantry were the activities of a few gentlemen who, about a year ago, appointed themselves as the 'Committee for Workers Defense. The West German press views Poland from the angle of the activities of this group of bankrupts and open and ruthless enemies of our system. Statements made by this or that gentleman 'oppositionist' that the people in Poland have fallen upon bad times, that the situation gets worse and worse and that everything and everyone is being choked by the 'dreadful atmosphere of terror' were published for sale on the front pages of not only the notorious springer papers.

"Important dailies proclaimed around 10-12 May that something would happen in Poland and that the situation was unbearable. That something was the Students' Festival in Krakow, which these dailies reported as 1-thousands of demonstrating students, and the death of a young man, which brought out Black Flags and caused tempers 'to boil throughout Poland.' Finally, that something was also the hunger strike by a few characters in a Warsaw church.

"In short, judging by the FRG press reports, the situation in Poland looked almost exactly as the situation in Beirut a few months ago. How long will the regime survive? When will all this collapse at least? It is true that questions of this kind were not expressed directly, but you could read them into

this Kriegsberichterstattung--battlefield reportage. The disappointment that the FRG press showed about 24-26 May because the expected Warsaw demonstrations unfortunately did not materialize was typical of the nature of this reportage. Disappointment, regret, but not resignation. Oh no, after all, 'life' brings newer and newer 'events' in its wake, such as that hunger strike in a church, for example.

"All these incidents were so monstrously inflated, stretched, doctored and commented on ad nauseam that I would never have believed it had I not been there myself as an eyewitness. No one there is interested in reality. All they are interested in is the reality of their own making.

"I spoke about all this to an old friend in Bonn, and he raised his hand as if in prayer and said: Mr Bortosz (name as published), for heaven's sake do not attach such importance to this. After all, you know very well that our newsmen are devoid of any sense of responsibility. They all chase whatever seems sensational to them and view the world through the glass manufactured by their own firms.

"But why this collusion in unleashing a general campaign against my country, I asked my friend, who refused to accept the word 'collusion.' You should know, he said, that our Chancellor and our government are sober, cautious and responsible insofar as the problem of human rights is concerned.

"However this may be, it is of no crucial importance for the general and universal trends of West German Anti-Polish Propaganda. Socialist Poland, its ambitious program for socioeconomic development, its achievements and its undoubted problems--all this is the target of direct attacks by the FRG media which shape up public opinion. In addition the context of these attacks is more than obvious and is being clearly emphasized in some publications: these things are happening precisely because of the coming Belgrade meeting.

"And it is especially revolting that the spokesmen of specific political forces in the FRG don the vestments of the friends of the Polish people and Poland, come out in favor of human rights for the Polish people, attack Poland from this position and are getting ready to play 'the devil's advocate' in Belgrade."

"I met many such small-time devil's advocates in the FRG during a round-table meeting arranged by the Polish-German Society in Duesseldorf. I must say that most of them agreed that if I used the methods used by a majority of FRG newsmen with regard to Poland I would have to write that the West German youths massively commit suicides because of bleak job prospects, that every night the FRG police assault young people's apartments, destroys furniture, belabor the sleeping with clubs and arrests people without warrants, that inmates of the FRG prisons are murdered as was claimed in case of Ulrike Meinhoff and so on and so forth. There are many things in the FRG one could generalize about in an irresponsible way.

"Ending this first report on my recent trip to the FRG I cannot help making a crucial observation: when one is abroad one sees many things much more clearly. This is not only because of the old English saying 'my country--right or wrong.'

This is also because of one's special sensitiveness to the unceasing, deepening and aggravating political-ideological confrontation between two systems of values and two sociopolitical systems. When reading those reports from the 'Polish battlefield,' one gets the impression that those in the West who write and comment know exactly not only what was, but also what will be. What will be, what must happen in keeping with their wishes. Are they clairvoyants or instigators?"

CSO: 2600

POLAND

WARSAW TAKES SHARPER MEASURES AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Apr 77 p 7 DW

[Carl Gustaf Stroehm, Munich dispatch]

[Text] It seems that the Polish communists have begun to take sharper measures against the inner opposition, and particularly against the Warsaw "Committee for the Defense of the Workers." Two prominent committee members, Jacek Kuron and Jan Jozef Lipski have been summoned officially and informed that they are under suspicion of maintaining "illegal contacts" with foreign organizations, and of cooperating with the U.S. radio station Radio Free Europe, and with the Polish exile paper KULTURA printed in Paris. Radio Free Europe denied in the meantime to have had or to have contacts with the Polish dissidents.

The Polish prosecutor's office also mentioned the historian Adam Michnik who belonged to the circle of political friends of Kuron and Lipski. Michnik is in West Europe now. He is supposed to return to Poland next week.

Kuron and Lipski a few days ago were held by the police for 48 hours. It was learned from the workers' committee that the two have been imprisoned in one cell with alcoholics and criminals. Later on, the two opposition people were brought to a room which was filled with human feces.

The police were taking fingerprints by force from the two, injuring Lipski's arm which had been wounded in the 1944 Warsaw revolt. Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, in Gniezno again condemned the brutality of the Polish police, stating that such methods are most alien to the Polish people.

CSO: 2300



POLAND

#### FIRE DEMONSTRATORS RE-EMPLOYED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 May 77 p 2 DW

[Text] Warsaw, 2 May--Almost every one of the Polish workers fired because of their participation in last June's demonstrations have found a job in the meantime, with some of them, however, getting less pay. According to a recent communique of the "Committee for the Defense of the Workers," 11 URSUS workers and less than 20 Radom workers still have no jobs. They were fired after 15 June. The committee therefore states that support payments for the "victims of the post-June repressions" are nearing an end. In the future, only families with children whose income is under the minimum existence level will get payments.

According to the committee, it has collected until 22 April more than 2.8 million zlotys (more than DM300,000 according to the bank exchange rate) in the form of contributions, and paid it to families of the imprisoned and terminated. The committee also provided counsels to many of the accused.

The committee in its last communique insists that an unconditional amnesty must be declared for all who have been sentenced in connection with the 25 June demonstrations, all terminated workers must be employed again according to their qualifications, the full scope of repressions must be announced, the names of those must be announced who have maltreated the imprisoned, and they must be punished, and a parliamentary investigation must take place. When these demands have been completely fulfilled, the committee will lose its right to exist and it can discontinue its activities.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

POLISH MINISTER, WESTERN AGENCIES CITED ON KRAKOW EVENTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 18 May 77 p 13 LD

[Unattributed report: "Warsaw Press Conference: Minister Polemizes Over Events at Krakow"]

[Text] Warsaw--The Polish Government's official position on the death of the student Stanislaw Pyjas, whose body was found Saturday, 7 May, on the balcony of a Krakow house, and on the student demonstration which took place also in Krakow Sunday evening, has been announced by Minister [Wlodzimierz] Janiurek at a press conference.

The official government spokesman declared that the young man died following a fall from the stairs, and that the "unfortunate incident"--as he called it--was caused by a serious state of drunkenness. A blood test, Janiurek added, did in fact reveal a high alcohol level.

The government spokesman admitted that the student was a sympathizer of the "Workers Defense Committee," which was formed in Poland following last June's events, and he did not deny the report carried a few days ago by western press agencies that Pyjas had recently been involved in collecting signatures to a petition to the Polish Parliament calling for an inquiry into police behavior toward people who were detained following the June strikes.

With regard to the demonstration held in Krakow Sunday evening, and which, according to many eyewitnesses, was attended by 5,000 young people (in the morning there was a Mass in memory of the dead student) Janiurek asserted that certain "antisocial elements made a pretext of this tragic event to organize a provocation."

Janiurek ended by saying that police investigations are still continuing and that, among other things, a resident in the house where the body was found told the authorities that, at about 0600 on 7 May, he was awakened by "a loud noise" (of a fall) coming from the stairs.

Meanwhile, according to western press agencies (ANSA, AP, REUTER) the number of "dissidents" arrested between Saturday and Monday following the Krakow demonstration has gone up to six. They are writer Adam Michnik, philosopher Jacek Kuron, biochemist Piotr Naimski, historian Antoni Macierewicz, nuclear physicist Mirosław Cholecki--all "Workers Defense Committee" members--and a sympathizer of the committee, Wojciech Ostrowski.

They are accused of "having communicated with a person working within a foreign organization with the aim of damaging the political interests of Poland." A similar charge was laid against Kuron and Michnik last month, but the two "dissidents" were later released on bail.

CSO: 3104

POLAND

POLISH DAILY SAYS DISSIDENTS ACTING 'ON ORDERS'

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 19 May 77 p 13 LD

[Unattributed report: "Hard Attack on Dissidents Arrested in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw--The daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY asserts, confirming the official version of the death of the student Stanislaw Pyjas, that the reports on the case of Kuron, Michnik, Lipski, and Macierewicz, are "organized provocation." As is known, the four Polish Workers' Defense Committee members were arrested Monday. The daily also maintains that they acted--on this occasion as during the March 1968 student agitations--"on orders from somebody."

According to ZYCIE WARSZAWY, the four detainees spread "false information on Pyjas' death, not only through western journalists accredited in Poland, but also by resorting to communication channels with anti-Polish propaganda centers in the West."

Meanwhile, it has been reported that the student Sreniowski, who was held by the police after the demonstration in memory of Pyjas, had not been released at the end of the normal period of detention and it is therefore assumed that he has been arrested. The police have also held Andrzej Woznicki, one of the first signatories of the appeal from the "Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights."

CSO: 3104

POLAND

POLISH WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE AIDES DETAINED

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 20 May 77 p 13 LD

[Unattributed report: "Many More Dissidents Arrested in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw--A "dissident" source announced yesterday the arrest of Jan Jozef Lipski, one of the best-known members of the Polish Workers' Defense Committee (KDR).

Lipski was taken to the voivodship attorney's office. Others held with him were his children Asia, about 20 years old, and Jan Tomasz, 22, and two students from the Warsaw University physics faculty, Stefan Kawalec and Sergiusz Kowalski, who were at Lipski's home when the police arrived. Kawalec and Kowalski were already detained Tuesday and later released.

The same source reports that, following searches in their apartments, the following were also held yesterday morning: Jan Litynski and Seweryn Blumsztajn, as well as physicist Henryk Wyjec and Boguslawa Blajcher--all KOR collaborators.

CSO: 3104

'L'UNITA' REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS ON DISSIDENTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 May 77 p 16 LD

[Silvio Trevisani report: "Intellectuals Appeal Against the Arrests in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw--In an atmosphere characterized by deep anxiety and serious concern, news of detentions and arrests of members and sympathizers of the "Polish Workers' Defense Committee" continues to come in. Since yesterday it has been confirmed that the detention of Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Piotr Naimski, Piotr Ostrowski, Mirosław Cholecki, Marian Pilka, and Antoni Macierewicz has been transmuted into arrest. The confirmation obviously comes from the families of the people concerned, because nothing on the subject has been published in the newspapers. On the other hand, however, no denial has been issued by the authorities. As for the historian Jan Józef Lipski, who was taken away by the police after a search of his apartment, he must await the expiration of the 48 hours during which any Polish citizen can be detained without it being necessary for the judicial authorities to intervene.

The charges against the members of the "Solidarity Committee" are of "association with other persons to act in collusion with foreign organizations hostile to the People's Republic of Poland"; the penalty laid down varies from 6 months to 5 years. Others, however--for example, the student Pilka--are accused of "supplying information of a nature to discredit Poland."

The unanimous opinion, however, is that it was the death--and the interpretations put on it--of the Krakow student, Stanisław Pyjas, which prompted the Polish Government to take tough measures against the "Solidarity Committee." As will be remembered, the student's body was found on the morning of 7 May. According to the authorities, his death was caused by a "fall from a small height" (first they had said "a fall downstairs") while in a state of drunkenness, as would be shown by the alcohol content found in his blood (2.6 milligrams per 1,000 milliliters, equivalent to half a liter of vodka).

This version has been questioned by the "Solidarity Committee" which recalled that Pyjas was one of its active collaborators and that four students--who along with him had gathered signatures for a petition to Parliament--received anonymous letters in April.

After these statements made to foreign correspondents, and following a demonstration in Krakow at a Mass for Pyjas, the arrests began; moreover, TRYBUNA LUDU, the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) organ, and ZYCIE WARSZAWY severely attacked the "Solidarity Committee," describing it as "a group of opponents of the people's power who have tried to exploit the death of the youth to disturb the atmosphere."

For the first time even the names of some members of the committee were mentioned, and the situation was compared by the papers to that of March 1968--when, at the time Gomulka was first secretary, a student demonstration took place against which the police intervened, many lecturers and students were arrested and sentenced to prison or labor camps, and others were told to leave the country.

The attitude of the Warsaw government and the consequent arrests have, however, provoked a new reaction; while religious ceremonies in memory of Pyjas have taken place in Gdansk, Lublin, and Lodz, 17 Polish intellectuals--including writers, musicians, and university professors--launched an appeal yesterday in which they ask the government authorities not to "use police repression against the members of the defense committee." We know the arrested persons--the document goes on to say--and we know that they are not criminals.

Cardinal Wyszynski has also intervened on this subject. In a sermon pronounced on the evening of the day before yesterday he condemned the repression.

Even the academic authorities have taken a few initiatives within the universities to try to respond to the students' growing nervousness: course assemblies and exchanges with the young people have been organized. For its part, the PZPR has called meetings in many factories in which the ZYCIE WARSZAWY and TRYBUNA LUDU articles will be discussed.

CSO: 3104

POLAND

WRITERS, ARTISTS CALL FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

London THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 22 May 77 p 8 LD

[Article by diplomatic editor, Nicholas Carroll: "Polish Writers Speak Out Against Political Arrests"]

[Text] A strongly worded plea to the Polish Government to free the recently arrested members of the Workers' Defence Committee has been made in an open letter signed in Warsaw last week by 17 leading Polish writers and artists.

The letter, which carries added weight because none of the signatories is a member of the committee, also condemns the use of police methods to deal with social problems. It reads:

"Despite promises of freedom, many of those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their part in the workers' protest in June 1976 are still in prison. At present there is a wave of arrests of members of the Workers' Defence Committee, which for months has provided material, legal, and medical help for the prisoners, thus creating in Poland a unique social institution that has provided support for the families of those thrown out of work or imprisoned.

"In the last few days, the following people have been arrested, and their detention in prison has been sanctioned by the public prosecutor: Miroslaw Chojecki, Jacek Kuron, Antoni Macierewicz, Adam Michnik, Piotr Naimski, and Wojciech Ostrowski. (On May 19 another committee member, Jan Jozef Lipski, was also arrested.)

"We know these people, and we can, therefore, assert that they are not criminals, but people who are disinterested and ready to sacrifice themselves to achieve social justice. The arrests are continuing. We appeal to the authorities to halt and revoke this sort of action which harms innocent people and increases social tension in Poland.

"We appeal to public opinion in Poland and abroad, to workers, intellectuals, trade unionists, journalists, to all people of goodwill irrespective of their political convictions, to express their objection to the use of police methods in social matters. We appeal to them to act in defence of the political prisoners of the Polish People's Republic, and demand their release."



The letter is signed by: Jacek Bochenski, Kazimierz Brandys, Marian Brandys, Witold Dabrowski, Andrzej Drawicz, Jerzy Ficowski, Anna Kamienska, Andrzej Kikowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Seweryn Pollack, Julian Strykowski, Wiktor Wordszyli (author), Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczak (Chair of Logic), Bogdan Kosinski (film director), Anna Trojanowska (painter), Wanda Wilkomirska (violinist), and Maria Zagorska (translator).

The latest wave of unrest and repression in Poland was triggered off a week ago by the death of a Cracow student while in the hands of the police, followed by a huge peaceful protest march by students in Cracow. The police said the student was drunk, but the students believe he was beaten up by the police or their agents.

A puzzling feature of the arrests of members of the Workers' Defence Committee is that a week ago the authorities in Warsaw allowed two television teams, one from the BBC, the other from the American NBC, to interview them. The teams were allowed to take their films and tapes through the customs without examination.

The subsequent arrests of seven members of the committee suggests that the security police may have acted on their own initiative to some extent. The action is at any rate inconsistent with the evidence that Edward Gierek, the Polish leader, favours a fairly tolerant attitude towards dissidents.

His toleration, however, has been withheld from a number of leading literary figures, whose prose and poetry has been rejected for publication supposedly because of their dissident attitude. A collection of these works is being published in London on Thursday by the periodical, INDEX ON CENSORSHIP.

CSO: 2020

POLAND

WARSAW SUPPORT FOR RADOM PRISONERS, CHURCH ROLE DESCRIBED

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 May 77 p 5 LD

[Special correspondent Demarez Warsaw dispatch: "Hunger Strike in a Church"]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 May--Eleven people, members or sympathizers of the "Workers' Defense Committee," are at present conducting a hunger strike in the chapel of St Martin's Church in Warsaw to protest against the detention in prison of five people sentenced after the events in Radom and URSUS in June 1976. They are also protesting against the arrest of certain leaders of the "Committee" following the demonstration involving several hundred students who filed along solemnly to pay tribute to the Krakow student, Stanislaw Pyjas, who died tragically on 7 May.

This initiative by the 11 hunger strikers, which is to last for a week, is a follow-up to this demonstration, which coincided with the inauguration of the Church of Nowa Huta and the Mass said last week in the church in Warsaw's "Old Town" to the memory of Pyjas.

Although officially the Polish Church did not take part in these events, no one here denies a certain involvement by ecclesiastical circles in the protest taking place at the present time.

D. Horodyski, chief editor of KULTURA, noted this on Friday in an article published by TRYBUNA LUDU. He explains that dissident circles want to involve the church, which is at present the object of strong canvassing. It is obvious to anyone who knows the role the church plays in Poland that this is a very important question. It is no less obvious that if the Polish press is writing about the 11 hunger strikers to refute their arguments, it means that all the difficulties which led to the events of June 1976 have not completely disappeared. There is still some tension in the consumer market. Meat is still too scarce in the butchers' shops, and the queues in front of the shops cause irritation to the shoppers, particularly working women.

Certainly the government has taken a series of measures to improve services and supplies to shops, but these are still a long way from meeting consumer demand.

A Polish woman told me the other day: "You know, I must really get down to work to make ends meet. I am a divorcee and, in addition to my daily work, I have to look after my home, my daughter's education and studies, and my old mother who is ill. It is a race against the clock all the time. Shopping is my worst nightmare. I waste most of my time in shops."

A considerable improvement in the choice of goods which can now be found in shops, and commendable efforts aimed at displaying them, are largely nullified by an inadequate organization of the market.

Polish Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz emphasized, during a conference of party officials and economists, that even though the community could understand that the situation with respect to supplies and selling was difficult, it could not put up with inefficiency, which no one and nothing could justify. It is this inefficiency which irritates the Polish people most. It creates discontent, and output and work quality suffer as a result.

CSO: 3100

END